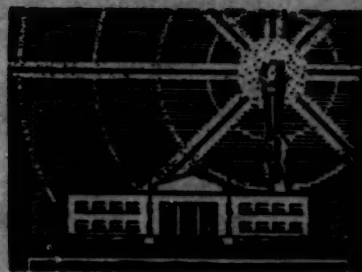


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As the Editor Sees It

It is an occupational characteristic of the social scientist that he likes to compare the past with the present and the present with the future, and draw conclusions. On the basis of his observations he becomes either an optimist or a pessimist. For that matter, people in general can be divided into these two categories. We either "view with alarm" or we take a rosy outlook on the progress of society. It is almost impossible to be neutral, even deliberately, unless one is so mentally restricted as to be unable to see beyond the next meal, the next date, or the next hour. Every thinking person generalizes on the state of humanity; the sociologist or historian merely has a little more material to work with.

Those who tend to pessimism have a strong case. They can point, of course, to the danger, ever-present, of total war. They look with alarm at the many fever-spots around the world—Korea, Indo-China, Algeria, Israel, Berlin, and so on. They see these as proof that mankind has failed to improve in its ability to subdue its greed and selfishness, and its scientific development only makes violence more lethal and more wide-spread.

The pessimists look at our own society and blanch at what they see—juvenile crime and gangsterism, commercialization of every conceivable subject, the mediocrity of standards of taste, tremendous expenditures on pleasure and luxury, and a general worship of the non-essential. The pessimists look at the millions of victims of war, hate and prejudice throughout the world, and at the other millions who are living under a despotism as harsh as any in olden times. They see these things and feel that civilization is going more and more rapidly on toward a great cataclysm.

The optimists see the same things, but interpret them differently. They feel that per-

haps at last man has made for himself such terrible weapons of war that he will not risk their use, and so warfare may in future be limited to small-scale and local operations. They see in the troubles of many areas the elimination of ancient wrongs and festering sores; current conflict may mean lasting stability. They admit that there is much crime and juvenile delinquency, but they find that the record shows far more violence and wickedness in our cities a century ago. As to the mediocrity of taste, they again go back in history to show that the *average* American of the 19th century had but a small fraction of today's acceptance of and familiarity with good music, drama and art. The optimist, furthermore, is encouraged by the great increase in church-going, which seems to refute the charge of materialism; and he is most happy over the tremendous strides in education for the masses. How can he be pessimistic about a society whose major problem is how to find enough good teachers and classrooms quickly? He is encouraged, too, by the many evidences of a growing wave of self-expression and creativeness.

That conditions in this country are not a fair reflection of the status of civilization elsewhere is obvious. Yet the optimist has reason to feel that, bad as things may be in many lands, they are scarcely worse for most of the people than they were a century ago, in spite of two devastating wars. There are still music and art, sport and holiday-making, good reading and other good things; and a greater proportion of the people enjoy them.

The spirit of cynicism and pessimism is easy to foster, and it has the aura of sophistication about it to give it popularity. But facts are facts, and our teachers will do the next generation no favor by discounting for them the genuine strides that man is taking.

Two Weeks in Congress: Action Research With Sociodrama in the Study of Civics

By TOM MURRAY WHITE

Grosse Point Woods, Michigan

In trying to improve his teaching, the classroom teacher is seldom able to engage in formal scientific research, complete with control groups and statistical analysis of results. However, Action Research¹, in which carefully planned variations in teaching method are tried and evaluated in terms of the teacher's previous experience with similar groups, is a form of research that goes on in classrooms everyday.

The action research described in this article is one in which simplified sociodrama, or role-playing, was used in an attempt to make the study of our legislative process more interesting and meaningful to civics students.

An earlier experiment, in which a complete mock government including legislative, executive, and judicial branches had been set up in the classroom, had been unsuccessful. In evaluating this earlier experiment, the teacher concluded that it failed because the students had been unfamiliar with role-playing and because the plan of action had been too ambitious.

An attempt was made to correct these weaknesses the following year when a variation of this action-research was tried again. Groundwork was laid for the experiment by providing first semester civics students with experience in simple sociodrama. At that time, they studied the differences in viewpoint between employers and employees through role-playing in job application interviews. In addition, the new experiment was limited, in that only a Congress was created and it restricted itself to the consideration of just one problem.

After using the textbook and supplementary materials to study the organization and operation of Congress, the teacher asked the class: "Is there any way we can learn how legislators who favor a bill get it through Congress?"

"We already know," replied a student pointing to the chart 'How A Bill Becomes A Law.'

"No," said another, "That only shows the steps a bill follows. It doesn't tell why some bills get through and others don't."

"We could set up a government and put a bill through," said one who had enjoyed playing the role of an employer the previous semester.

"A good idea," someone said, "We can set up a whole government: Congress, President, Supreme Court, the whole works."

The remainder of the period was spent in discussion during which the teacher led the group to realize they would learn more and have more fun if they concentrated on being Senators and Representatives.

"How would we benefit from setting up such a mock Congress?" the teacher asked at the beginning of the period the next day.

After considerable discussion the group agreed, and summarized on the chalkboard, that the class would benefit by:

1. Learning more about how Congressmen get a bill through Congress.
2. Being able to debate a real issue.
3. Having fun.

By asking leading questions the teacher finally succeeded in adding two more possible values to the list. They were, that a mock Congress might:

4. Make the civics they had been reading about seem more real.
5. Increase their understanding of the importance of the relationships between people during political activity.

It was, of course, this last reason—to increase the student's awareness and understanding of human relationships—that made sociodrama an appropriate tool for a civics course.

The roles to be played had been determined by the decision to set up a mock Congress, but the situation to be worked with was still much too general.

"What are you going to do in Congress?" the teacher asked the class.

"Everybody should introduce a bill," said one student. "That way we'll all get experience."

"We should each be on a Congressional Committee, too," added another.

"I want to be on the investigating committee," said one boy.

"Everybody doesn't have to do everything," said a girl. "The observers learned a lot last semester."

"But how can we be observers as well as actors this time?" the teacher was asked.

He suggested the Senators could observe and analyze the actions of the House and that the Representatives could do the same for the Senate. This seemed agreeable, so the discussion of what Congress would actually do continued.

It was finally agreed that Congress should limit itself to one topic in which a majority of the class was interested. Further discussion showed that the two topics of greatest interest were: whether 18-year olds should be allowed to vote; and whether Alaska and Hawaii should be granted statehood.

"Let's vote for one and get going," said one of the eager ones.

The group seemed willing. Had they been experienced enough in sociodrama to find failure a learning experience, the teacher might have let them begin. But since they were still new at this, he intervened. "Suppose," he asked, "you all agree on the issue? What kind of a debate will you have if you are all on the same side?"

The class agreed they had better choose an issue about which there was a difference of opinion. A poll showed that the class was rather evenly divided on the question of granting eighteen-year olds the franchise. On the other hand, there seemed to be a four way division over the statehood question. Some students favored statehood for both territories, others

desired statehood for Hawaii but not Alaska, a few wanted Alaska but not Hawaii to become a state, and there was the small but inevitable group of non-partisans some of whom couldn't make up their minds and some of whom weren't interested enough to try.

The class decided either question would produce sufficient discussion and then voted to determine which issue the majority of the class preferred. They chose the statehood question, probably because it was actually being debated in Congress at the time.

"Will you be the presiding officer of each house?" the president of the student government asked.

"No," said the teacher, "the House always selects its own Speaker. And, since we haven't elected a vice-president of the United States, probably our mock Senate ought to select its own presiding officer—just as they select a President pro-tem in the United States Senate." The President of the Student Council developed a gleam in his eye as he began to consider what role he would play in Congress.

At this point the teacher privately took stock of progress to date. There were various levels of motivation for using this particular type of action-research. To the teacher it was an experimental attempt to make the study of the legislative process more vital and realistic. It was also an effort to give the youngsters an appreciation and understanding of the importance of intra-personal relationships in political activity. He would evaluate the success of the experiment against these objectives. For the youngsters a mock Congress sounded like fun and a chance to be more active and dramatic than was usually possible in a civics classroom. They had developed a list of reasons for a mock Congress which they could use in an evaluation of the project.

The situation (congressional consideration of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii) was established. The characters (Senators and Representatives) were determined by the situation. In true sociodrama, with more experienced participants, the characters would probably have been specific types of Congressmen classified by such criteria as political party, geography, and personality type. For the purpose of this sociodrama, however, the students would merely be Congressmen who were members of: the

Alaska Party, the Hawaii Party, the Halaska Party (Statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska) and the Non-Partisan Party.

It had been already agreed that the Senators would act as observers while the House was in session and the Representatives would do the same for the Senate. The group now decided that the non-partisans would be allowed to observe and comment on the party caucuses if they promised not to reveal party strategy. From even their limited experience with sociodrama the students had come to realize that the comments of observers were an essential and interesting part of the activity. In addition to commenting on the words and actions of the role-players, the observers would also try to indicate the consequences of what they saw and heard. Whenever possible they would attempt to indicate the possible motivations for the words and actions of the role-players. Under no circumstances were they to discuss the acting skill of the role-players. To help everyone stay in character, it was agreed that the students would use the terms "Senator" or "Representative" when referring to each other. The teacher would, of course, have to be equally formal.

The sociodrama actually began when, after much clatter caused by moving desks, the various parties met in caucus to determine which of their members would be in the House and which in the Senate. They also planned their party strategy. The teacher circulated among the groups observing their work but saying as little as possible.

After the caucuses, the class met as a whole while the non-partisan observers commented on what they had seen and heard. It was not normal sociodrama procedure—to have observations made about things everyone hadn't seen—but it seemed the best possible way to provide the necessary evaluation for this portion of the sociodrama. There would be better opportunities for analysis when the entire class could comment on sessions of the Senate and House which everyone would have either taken part in or observed.

The discussion of the caucuses brought out that those groups functioned best which elected a chairman to keep them on the right track and maintain order.

"Let's get the Senate going," said several

of the students at the beginning of the next class period.

There was obviously no problem of motivating the group. Instead the teacher felt he was acting as a brake. However, rather than point out to the students the desirability of their knowing more about the issue before beginning to debate, he decided it would be better to take advantage of their eagerness and let them get started. Later, when they ran out of things to say and saw the need for knowing more, Congress could be recessed to permit research.

Members of the Senate moved to the center desks while members of the House arranged themselves around the sides and back of the room. With the teacher presiding as President of the Senate pro-tem, that house quickly organized and elected one of its members as President of the Senate.

Members of the House of Representatives now took the center seats and began to organize. It soon became obvious that considerable behind-the-scenes political action had already taken place. An innocent looking motion preventing any Representative from declining to serve as Speaker of the House was introduced and passed. Members of the minority parties (the Alaska Party, the Halaska Party, and the Non-Partisan Party) then united to push through the election of the talkative leader of the Hawaii Party as Speaker of the House. During the previous semester his persuasive powers had made him President of the school's Student Government. The House then recessed for the analysis of the organizational sessions of the mock Congress. The first meeting of the Senate had been without incident, so discussion centered around the House. Role-players were asked to comment first because the teacher had observed in earlier sociodramas that this established the proper tone for the discussion by showing everyone that the participants were really engrossed in their role-playing. Hearing them use the terms "Representative" or "Senator" when referring to each other made it easier for the observers to comment freely in the same spirit.

The newly elected Speaker of the House began, "I should have seen what they were up to when they introduced the motion preventing anyone from refusing to be Speaker."

The other role-players refused to say why he

had been elected. However, one of the observers pointed out that as Speaker of the House he would not be able to take part in the debates. Another praised the political skill displayed in first passing a harmless looking motion and then uniting to weaken the opposition by muzzling their best speaker. An observation which became something of a theme song for the mock Congress was first mentioned at this time. Someone observed that the most important work was done before the House met. The teacher interrupted to remind the students of President Woodrow Wilson's statement, "Congress in its committee rooms is Congress at work."

It soon became apparent that some members of the class were surprised to learn they couldn't simply start debating about statehood. This despite the fact that they had studied about legislation and how bills were introduced and passed. Time was taken to discuss the form and content of congressional bills. The Committee System was thoroughly reviewed, but it was agreed that because of the limits of time in a mock Congress, bills would be dealt with on the floor without being referred to the committee.

"But if each party has its own bill, which will get introduced?" asked one member of the class.

The Speaker of the House laughed, "You elected me Speaker," he said, "whose bill do you suppose will get introduced first in the House?" Apparently his experience with Parliamentary Procedure in the Student Council was going to be put to use.

It was agreed that the Senate would meet for two days and the House for two days on an alternating basis until each had decided for or against statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. The students wanted a five minute caucus at the beginning of each period and it was agreed that each house would adjourn fifteen minutes before the end of the period on its second day of meeting to permit the role-players and observers to comment upon what they had seen and heard.

After almost a full period of caucusing, while each party wrote its bill, the Senate met for two days. A bill granting statehood to Alaska alone was introduced and debated. At the end of the second day the observation was made that many of the Senators talked too long for what they had to say.

"You ain't seen nothing yet," said the leader of the five-man Alaska Party.

"We'd better have some time in the library for research before the House of Representatives meets," said one of the Congressmen.

After some discussion it was agreed to have one period in the library for research. Others who wanted to do more research could use their study periods or work at home.

When the House of Representatives convened for its first regular session, the Speaker called on one of his own party who moved that debate be limited to ten minutes at a time for any one person. After heated debate this motion was passed. He then called on another member of his party who introduced a bill proposing statehood for Hawaii but not Alaska. This was the exact opposite of the Senate bill. The students soon noticed that the Speaker was only calling upon members of his own party. Some of the opposition objected, but the teacher naturally refused to interfere. Later, however, when it became obvious that the Speaker was using hand signals to direct his party members, the teacher requested that he stop "coaching from the bench," since this was inconsistent with the dignity of the House of Representatives.

In the discussion which followed the first two-day session of the House, the observers commented that unless the Speaker was fair about allowing members of the other parties to speak, he might find it impossible to win the votes necessary to grant statehood for Hawaii.

Rumor had it that there was to be a filibuster by the leader of the small Alaska Party when the Senate met the next day. Some of the students asked if they could bring books to read so that they wouldn't have to listen to the filibusterer. The teacher said that while it was true that in the United States Senate members could get up and leave the room or even read during a speech, such things would not be feasible in a school situation. Classroom visitors, or people going by in the hall, might be startled to see a student making a speech with no one paying any attention. This prospect delighted the students but they reluctantly agreed it was impractical in the school situation. They eagerly looked forward to the filibuster, partly, perhaps, to see if the teacher could refrain from interfering.

The filibuster ran two periods. Starting off

in high glee, it soon degenerated into boredom. The Senator spoke until he ran out of things to say and then began reading an encyclopedia article on Alaska. In the discussion period at the end of the second day, a number of Senators and observers pointed out that the filibuster would only irritate people and delay things. It wasn't winning any votes for the Alaska Party.

"That's all filibusters ever do," said someone. "They are used to try and keep the majority from getting what it wants. He's only doing it because he knows his bill will be defeated as soon as we get to vote on it."

"Why don't you stop him?" the teacher was asked.

"Do you want a dictator?" he asked them. "Can't you make Democracy work?"

"But isn't there any way he can be stopped?"

"Yes, there is," said the teacher.

"How?"

"See if you can't figure it out for yourself."

"We could have prevented it by voting to limit debate."

The bell rang on a frustrated class. Some were so upset that they actually came back after school. Not just to talk, but to check out books on Congress and Parliamentary Procedure.

The House of Representatives met for the next two days. The Speaker allowed members of other parties to speak. The bill granting statehood to Hawaii was defeated and a new bill granting immediate statehood to both Alaska and Hawaii was introduced. This was still being debated at the end of their two-day period. The Senate met again. By this time the students had learned about the cloture rule and had a petition ready to present to the President of the Senate. It was apparent that more than two-thirds of the group would vote to limit debate. The Senate convened and the filibusterer took the floor with an almanac in his hand. "Alaska," he said in a stentorian voice, "has—"

A hand went up. "Will the Senator yield for a question?"

After dramatic consideration he nodded.

"Does the Senator realize that unless he stops his filibuster in five minutes the Hawaii Party and the Non-Partisan Party will never vote for statehood for Alaska no matter what kind of bill is introduced?"

"Hmm—" said the filibusterer.

"Will the Senator yield for another question?" asked one of the girls. He nodded.

"Does the Senator know that a petition requesting a vote on the limitation of debate will be presented unless he stops talking in five minutes?"

"Hmm—" said the filibusterer, obviously enjoying himself tremendously. Then he went back to reading the almanac. The class sighed. However, it was noted that he kept glancing at the clock. His timing was excellent. After exactly four minutes and forty-five seconds he thanked them for their attention and sat down. The debate went on without the introduction of the cloture rule. The bill designed to grant statehood to Alaska alone was defeated and a bill giving statehood to both Alaska and Hawaii was introduced. It was amended to grant statehood to Hawaii immediately and to Alaska within six months after the next presidential election. The bill was finally passed in this form. Observers pointed out that the plan to delay admitting Alaska might be the result of irritation caused by the filibuster as much as it was because of a belief about which political party citizens of Alaska would vote for.

Two days later the House of Representatives passed a bill granting immediate statehood to both Alaska and Hawaii.

It was, of course, necessary to set up a joint committee of the House and Senate because the two bills did not agree. This was done and the work of the joint committee was discussed by both role-players and observers. The Joint Committee eventually agreed that the Senate would vote on the House bill. The Senate met briefly, passed the House bill, and both Alaska and Hawaii were at last accorded statehood—at least in this Congress.

In their evaluation of the mock congress, the class agreed that civics had become more understandable. One girl said, "This even made government interesting." The students also agreed they had a great deal of fun and enjoyed the chance to debate—something they had wanted to do all year. One student remarked he now saw how the personality of Congressmen could affect legislation.

In his own evaluation of the unit, the teacher also decided that this action research was successful. The students obviously had developed

more interest in the work of Congress and increased their understanding of political activity. Apparently some of them had really become more conscious of the importance of personal relationships in political activity. The fact that this class did somewhat better than previous classes on the end of the year test

added to the teacher's conviction that it was worthwhile to supplement regular textbook study with sociodrama.

¹ Stephen M. Corey, "Action Research and the Classroom Teachers" *National Education Association Journal* XVIII (February, 1954). pp. 79-80.

Teaching Current Affairs in This Era of Crisis

By ALLAN M. PITKANEN

Jacob A. Riis High School, Los Angeles, Calif.

There are times when the study of current affairs with its complexities in this era of crisis stirs up this seemingly negative thought that many a man has spent a lifetime in study only to realize that the most important thing he learned was the sense of his own limitations. There is also a feeling of frustration regarding what is true and what is false about the outside world and about the devious meanderings of mankind in our own social and economic labyrinth; it's a feeling of being left high and dry by a conglomeration of "authoritative" sources that glaringly conflict with each other. There are just too many problems that cannot be limited to a "yes" or "no," "either-or" type of answer. If that alone is the totality of one's experience it may then be best to drop the subject from serious consideration.

However, there is more to it than that. An important purpose of this study of current affairs—despite its tinder-box relationship with controversial issues—is the vital need today for the creation of an *awareness to*, and a weighing of the *significance of*, the realities about us; it is imperative for all our citizenry to become more alert to the problems we, as a nation, face in this time of social change and stress. Long ago, Marcus Aurelius hit it right when he said: "He who knows not the world, knows not his own place in it." It must be clarified, too, that my idea of a study of current affairs does not include the stimulation of an emotional, idealistic defense of those theories advocating license to flaunt all sides of every conflict perplex-

ing humanity, regardless of time and place, before impressionable, naive adolescents.

Even though there are problems some people avoid seeing, there are, nevertheless, in these times of trouble, perplexities that all must face, and many of these are the same vexations that people have been praying to solve for centuries, and the world turmoil resulting from them still goes on. Perhaps the trouble has been that too many of us have just prayed for better times, and then, in a kind of wishful expectancy, stop there. Let's face it. If wars are to cease, if poverty and disease are to be decreased, if man is to get his "better world," he's got to get up from his knees and do the job himself. In other words, man must learn to think and reason before he can qualify for the job of solving the world's problems, and, generally speaking, there is some room for doubt whether he yet knows how or cares!

The perplexing thing is that too few teachers wish to do much constructive thinking and *acting* about improving human befuddlement. Too many of us, laymen as well as professionals, have become victims of the modern plague, psychosclerosis—the hardening of the mind; anyway, as Mark Twain aptly put it: "It is astonishing to what lengths people will go to avoid thinking"—especially if certain pressures declare it unfashionable!

It's granted, too, that the twisted conditions of our civilization provide a psychological reason for this "malady." The threat of an unscrupulous foreign despotism enlarges our fears

into bewildering hysteria, on one hand, and the rise of a kind of strangling native authoritarianism dictating to Americans what patriotism and what the American Way is to be, amplifies our confusion in another direction. What then is one to do? Hiding from the realities of life about us would be psychopathic. Our memories of recent past hysterical events should warn us of a naive acceptance of world events swirling about us; our blindness concerning the motives of our neighbors, even of our allies, has brought disillusionment; our plain ignorance of how the rest of the world lives has added immeasurably to our present difficulties.

The danger is not that people know too much. It's that they know too much that is not true. And if we adults, in our confused excitability, stand befuddled and afraid and cannot adequately guide our youngsters along more sensible patterns that we have followed, how can our children, in turn, be expected to discover sensible answers to future problems, or help in the fulfillment of the American Dream—the further development of a better, happier Freedom-Land?

These times are troubled, too, because we as an American people have become more divided into increasingly conflicting camps of opinion. Not only has there been an increase in social issues, but their depth and severity have aggravated tremendously the pressures of these issues. The arduous fostering by powerful organized groups of their own selfish aims for various facets of these issues has come to tear our society apart in the conflict where contrasting points of view struggle for pre-dominance.

The modern tragedy is that each fails to comprehend or consider the reasons for the purposes and plans of their opponents. When such prejudicial procedures prevail there can be little hope for understanding or agreement by deliberation.

If we actually take pride in our resolve to favor fact and reason over use of sheer force to dispel our differences, then, in view of actualities, it has become vital that greater emphasis be placed on those skills fostering development of effective group thinking. Effort must be given to knowing how to discuss our way through issues dividing our society rather than by fighting tooth and nail for a prevailing

way if our democratic procedures are to be preserved.

And if some of us hesitate because of the stress involved, that ancient aphorism: "When things get hot is the time to keep cool" is directly applicable to these emotional times. This conflict does not mean that the teachers of our Way of Life must be silent!

Ignorance on the rampage is terrifying; some of us have already found it an all too obvious reality. If schools were created as a governmental means of protecting the state from the consequences of an ignorant and incompetent citizenry, it then appears logical that we, as teachers, to best serve the general public, should unhesitatingly stand united in the dissemination of those truths as expressed in our Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States. We must not be bullied into the surrender of teaching those freedoms that legally we are designated to uphold.

Yes, social studies teachers realize this worthy purpose; they yearn to meet the challenge, undaunted, unafraid, but like other humble mortals, feeling the cold breathing of calumny at their throats, some hesitate and forsake their heritage. Some of these may have had the bewildering experience of having groped for an answer to an irate parent's accusation of their having recommended "Vices of the Virgins" to his youngster when what they really referred to was the publication: "Devices for Diversions." Some may have heard the wailing of the bloodhounds of reaction, have felt the sneers of leftist visionaries, and they have become afraid. Teachers have become afraid to discuss many current issues; they fear community reprisals or disciplinary action, and thus they have imposed an insidious, abasing, self-censorship on themselves.

For this reason, many social studies teachers are of the firm belief that their teaching should concern itself only with the factual, that which is time-tested and "revered." That which is uncertain, controversial, that might provoke a questioning, is to be avoided.

This type of social studies teaching has lost its vitality, its justification for existence. When the whole world is groping for answers to present problems, in these times of stress and change, what are these "facts" one could promulgate so reverently? If the various uncer-

tainties demanding attention had to cement themselves before becoming a part of one's conscious thinking, not much effective, realistic teaching would emanate from a social studies class. It would be well to ask how much of our history could be lifted from the realm of the controversial, anyway, and found upon analysis completely free from some doubt. What is this Truth? What is a Fact in social studies? There are many illustrations to bear out the likelihood that if a story is repeated enough in texts, it can finally become colored with truth. For instance, we all value the importance of the study of causes and effects, but even after 175 years, those of our American Revolution can still provoke argument, just as can those causes of events that happened last year.

There are times when certain explanations, based on whatever logical evidence can be had at the moment, must be given to questions that beset us, for if answers are too long delayed, the fire for further inquiry dies out and incentive or action for further thinking on the subject becomes enfeebled by disuse. There are present attitudes that must be built up, present understandings that must be fostered in order to evaluate such problems, for instance, as socialized medicine, tax reduction, or Communism. Future citizens need to be aware of their implications and should know the arguments pro and con. They need to strengthen their abilities to act, as they will be called upon to do as voting citizens on whatever evidence can be obtained that best fits into their versions of right and wrong. They need to know that quick acting and jumping to conclusions also have dangers, and thus, by knowing, they may be more cautious and weigh all factors.

The question, then, is whether schools shall train young citizens to realize the prevailing issues of the day, and to come to grips with them through supervised study of them; or shall teachers in an unrealistic zeal for an idealistic neutrality stand by disregarding their leadership responsibilities and allow these untrained, bewildered future citizens to go out into a world of conflict to grope for the solutions our democracy is dependent upon?

It is the teacher's business to stimulate young minds to think for themselves, to weigh alternatives, to build beliefs from honest, thoughtful convictions rather than to be content with an

unthinking acceptance of a single set of prejudices. To equate education and indoctrination merely reduces teaching to salesmanship or "the art of taking advantage of defenseless childhood." This type of pedagogy has been outmoded as far back as 1869 when Dr. Eliot of Harvard described it as being "logical and appropriate in a convent or a seminary for priests, but it is intolerable in universities and public schools, from primary to professional."

Only a searching kind of education will fit youth to live in a democracy where sweeping problems must be solved by free and open discussion; our young people cannot be expected to step from an authoritarian school into a controversial democracy and then be held duty-bound to make sensible decisions as members of an all-powerful electorate.

They cannot escape realities, grim, deceptive, disillusioning as they may be. Conflict, insidiously tricky propaganda, misleading advertising, and all the evils of faulty reasoning are to be found everywhere. If our young citizen has learned to face controversy, to know the various procedures involved in critical thinking, to examine all sides of an argument, to come to logical conclusions—if this has been a part of his schooling—we need not worry that he will make decisions detrimental to the preservation of democratic principles.

However, if it is the community that stands in opposition to a broad view on controversial questions, it is well to understand what prompts that opposition—and to meet it tactfully. Parents too easily fall victims to the presumption that anything new is dangerous. Some are too set in their own prejudices and find it difficult to yield to views that might upset these cherished prejudgments. Others are too anxious to shield uninitiated youngsters from the "facts of life" even when these children have reached a mature readiness for such exposure. This shielding can become an absurdity. It is a certainty that when pupils can read, they can read whatever comes before their glance, under supervision or not, and they soon realize the various sides or conflicts characteristic of our social order. It is not long hidden from an intelligent child that men become different as they affiliate themselves with various contending political factions, that some are "good" and others "bad," that there are "respectable" ac-

tions to sponsor, that others are "unthinkable." School, home, and church could provide some shelter from these controversial issues, but, sooner or later, the newspapers, the mass media of communication that are omnipresent about us, will give them sensational, and even irresponsible, versions of what we have tried to shield them from. When a youngster's readiness for certain phenomena of life arrives, heaven or hell will not guard him from it. In the classroom, at least, there is a prevailing effort to deal with these problems scientifically. There he will be presented with proper materials, will be urged to weigh different points of view, and to criticize the sources of information. From the street he will get such information uncensored, haphazardly and dangerously.

However, it is fundamental in all this exuberance of Truth-finding to sense rightly what the general society controlling schools, the substantial majority of the people, feels about the study of crucial social issues. Schools cannot proceed in isolation from the rest of society. But when there is criticism concerning the indoctrination of the young with attitudes and beliefs critical of the existing social order, teachers should come to the defense of their purposes and strongly clarify the differences of the democratic school and the authoritarian. It needs be said that the democratic school is fully as much concerned with the molding of democratic character as the fascist or communist school is concerned with the production of fascists or communists. The difference—and the one thing we need not be objective or neutral about—is that the democratic faith, unlike every type of authoritarianism, contains a respect for personality, differences of opinion, and methods of intelligence. It is a mistake to believe that democracy is compatible with every type of character and belief or that the democratic school should be strictly neutral in its stand concerning everything—even that which might endanger its very existence.

We should consider, too, that teachers, regardless of their merit, are not independent of the public that has hired them. Texts, written by anyone, cannot be expected to receive acceptance if they convey thought in opposition to the fundamental precepts of our Constitution. Even leaders must learn restraint, as must the public learn to be prudent in judging its

servants. We all have human failings; words are vague and tricky things; careless use of actions and words may easily mislead or be misunderstood. It is imperative, then, in this period of uncertainty, or at any time, to judge all remarks, of all leaders as well as friends, by their totality. A too critical concern over every expression of thought may be just as detrimental to free inquiry as lazy unconcern of whatever is done or said.

Ignorance and fear of the unknown cannot support the cause of human freedom or honest discussion, we know that; neither can it be supported by persons who have lost faith in the fundamental truths that gave birth to the American republic, nor by those who have lost faith in God, in morality, in human dignity; nor by those who have lost faith in equality and in the inalienable rights of man. Not only must a teacher of current affairs have the American faith, but he should be one who is able to distinguish, for instance, a communist from a socialist, a liberal, or a rugged individualist, or from someone who believes in the Sermon on the Mount. Certainly, no one should be allowed to undertake this task who would exploit the situation for the selfish advancement of a political party, or for a conspiratorial organization.

And if there is a question whether teachers can be trusted to be objective enough to avoid propagandizing in their search for logical answers to problems of current affairs, the only answer is that in the classroom we get closer to objectivity than in any other spot available to the public. It must be admitted that no sensible man can be wholly objective about his convictions, but it is also commonly true throughout our land that school administrators emphasize the factual, objective approach to subject-matter and stress the subordination of a teacher's personal views as much as is humanly possible.

If all these factors are considered, democracy will be safe. The young citizen will be better prepared to face the perplexities of this era. He will be better able to fight the destructive forces imperiling our way of life than if he is unaware, ignorant, or deceived concerning them. If, as some fear, he may find himself duped as he ponders over the intricacies of controversial issues, if he may become a willing

advocate of dangerous notions as he honestly searches for Truth, he can be judged then only as a weak believer in democratic principles anyway—and had best go along with what he has taken upon himself.

A true democrat, not one who just gives lip service, will be made so only when he has felt his hope for human betterment strengthened by having given voice to the mighty battlecry of freedom: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

Current Trends in American Urban Planning

By PAUL A. PFRETZSCHNER

Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

There are signs on every side that urban planning in America has finally come of age. The change is so striking that some are impelled to describe what is going on in the cities and towns now as the "new city planning." Why "new city planning"? To begin, the newness is much a matter of scope—the attempt to survey the problem from all possible angles, or even more important, to establish the broadest kind of aims for the planned city and indeed for the planning process. Left behind are the early concentrations on "urban esthetics"—the sort of thinking that produced "City Beautiful" movements—and the somewhat later addictions to commercial and engineering efficiency. Abandoned too is the excessive concern with housing as an objective of city planning, the dominant idea of the depression era. Today, the key word is comprehensiveness.¹

One of the chief distinctions of the broader approach is the apparent willingness of the planners to think in terms of spiritual as well as material ends. This is not to say that they are no longer concerned with physical planning. The proper arrangement of the environment in terms of esthetics, economic efficiency, or social compatibility is still of great significance, but it need not stop there. Tinkering with the urban structure is often just a means of achieving some predetermined economic, social or political goal within the community, and if that goal can be attained by leaving the physical structure alone, there is still a meaningful function for the planners to perform. With this kind of thinking, the field of operations of a

planning commission can be extended as far as the people of the community wish, subject of course to the limitations of law. On this basis, men have demanded planning as a direct aid to municipal administration, as a weapon to combat racial tensions, and as a technique for injecting new life into community relationships. Some tackle planning by constructing Utopia on the drawing board and then sketching the Utopians to live in the heavenly city. Others begin with the inept and shortsighted planning commissions and project their ideas as far as these individuals can follow. Whatever the method of operation few are now satisfied with mere physical rearrangement.

Numerous books, journals, and papers attest to the variety of these modern paths to planning. From the works of Thomas Adams, James Dahir, the architect Albert C. Schweizer, Jose Luis Sert, Henry S. Churchill and many others, one discovers that while the traditional objectives such as beauty and order have not been abandoned, other ends share the spotlight. These include economic goals such as prosperity, full and stabilized employment, economy of natural resources, and a fair distribution of wealth. Political ends are envisaged which include planning as an aid to city government, municipal land ownership, a fuller development of the individual and his society, and the advancement of democracy. Social purposes are extremely varied. They comprise community health, safety and morals, the elimination of slums, blight and congestion, improved educational and recreational facilities, an attack on

urban social heterogeneity, and the development of the neighborhood unit plan.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PLANNING

Some authors now tend to give a primary emphasis to the field of economic and social planning, and maintain that an economic and social program should be the only basis for the development of the city. It is the responsibility of the city planning commission to do far more than simply chart the drift of urban affairs, said Albert Schweizer in 1944. It must give some direction to the city's economic future, and should:

- (1) set up reasonable goals of economic employment, volume of production, value of services, (2) analyze existing conditions to discover what is present or lacking for the achievement of such goals and (3) draw up a program for the utilization of all local resources, physical, human, and financial to attain the objectives.

Some might find it difficult to believe that Schweizer was talking about city planning when he said that:

Economic or industrial planning has as a major objective the employment of the community's citizens, and reciprocally, calculations for the development of industry must be based upon a good supply of the labor skills required. Industrial studies must also take into account wage scales, labor management relations, supply of raw materials, power and fuel, accessibility of markets, land availability, provision of capital, municipal services and taxes.²

This is not an entirely novel position. Dr. Charles W. Eliot, late President Emeritus of Harvard University, once wrote that, "Good planning for cities and closely built towns and villages is not primarily a matter of aesthetics, but of economics."³

Of course there is an emphasis of another sort by the sociologists. A very competent statement from this quarter was made by Professor Maurice R. Davie, who viewed the unplanned city as a patchwork of ecological units. "From the sociological viewpoint," he wrote, "city planning involves the adjustment of the physical resources of the community to meet the needs of its population, present and future."⁴ Another sociologist, Arthur Hillman, has included community centers and activities, child guidance

programs, social work and race relation programs as proper activities for a planning commission's attention.⁵

The step from concern with sociological objectives to concentrating on housing is relatively easy for many reasons. Most writers on the subject of city planning after 1920, and of course many before that date, had something to say on the subject. Unquestionably, the great preoccupation with social reform in the decade of the depression led to an untoward stress on the matter. By now the literature on housing alone probably exceeds what has been produced concerning the field of city planning in general. Werner Hegemann may be cited as a typical example of those responsible for the alleged over-emphasis on housing in the planning picture. In the introduction to the first volume of his major work he wrote:

The present volume approaches the problem of city planning from the more general premise that no city should be considered more beautiful than its most ugly and insanitary tenement house.⁶

Another similar point of view comes from Russell VanNest Black.

To me it is obvious that since houses are a major part of the flesh upon the skeleton of the city plan, the plan can have little meaning except as it determines the housing pattern and defines the extent and character of and the limitations upon essential services to housing.⁷

Our tardiness in meeting the problem is unquestionably responsible for this kind of over-emphasis, but it is hardly an acceptable excuse for allowing this or any other tail to wag the planning dog.

NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT PLANNING

Another of the novel features of the modern planning era is the great concern with what is called "neighborhood unit planning." (Fortunately, for future researchers in this area, James Dahir has collected an excellently annotated bibliography covering every important contribution made up to 1947.) Although traceable to Ebenezer Howard's "Garden City," the "neighborhood unit" in current literature is not an individual political entity but one of a number of similar organs that constitute the metropolitan mass. The essential features of the neighborhood unit plan call for a distinct resi-

dential neighborhood, centrally located facilities such as an elementary school, shops and community buildings, common land in parks and playgrounds, an internal street system to eliminate through traffic, and a harmonious architectural environment. Clarence A. Perry was the first to present a comprehensive exposition of the neighborhood unit plan. His volume in the New York Regional Plan series reflects the advance impact of the social movements of his time, capped by some original thinking of his own. In Dahir's words, Clarence Perry's notable contribution was to emphasize the "physical environment, without which neighborhood life as a social fact is difficult if not impossible." He recognized the breakdown of the community as a partial result of the kind of street system in use, the school grouping, the architectural pattern, the location of the shopping area, and the lack of park and recreational facilities. What he wanted was the physical basis for "that kind of face to face association which characterized the old village community and which the large city finds it so difficult to recreate."⁸

The first product of Perry's thinking was the community of Radburn, New Jersey, executed by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright. These two architects managed to eliminate the narrow side lots and alleys, to use shallow group dwellings, and thus save on vehicular space. The resultant land saving was turned over to a central garden court. While Radburn and the neighborhood unit plan are therefore frequently defended on the basis of their economy or land conservation, the real goal was social—the increase of meaningful community associations and contacts.⁹ Stein himself had something to say on this subject in an article in *American City* in 1945. He outlined a basic program for postwar planning which included: neighborhoods small enough for *every* citizen to take part in their activities, large enough to support adequate equipment for community life; the size of each unit to be limited to preserve the neighborhood's identity; towns or districts composed of groups of neighborhoods to carry on activities too large or expensive for the neighborhood — hospitals for example; the regional city as a constellation of towns; each neighborhood to have a community center as a focus of attraction. Mr. Stein cautioned his readers that change was

inevitable, and that all of their plans for the neighborhood must allow the maximum in flexibility. Nothing could be worse, he said, than to shackle the character of the unit with a stereotyped or inflexible plan.¹⁰

COMMUNAL LIFE

The full community life as an end of planning caught the imagination of many authors, from the prophetic architect Raymond Unwin, who wrote in 1910:

City life is essentially cooperative in character, and I do not think that the ideal will be the setting of every individual house within its own quarter acre plot of garden, but rather the placing of groups of houses within their ten or a hundred acres of park.¹¹

to Harvard's Walter Gropius and his talk of "square mile rehabilitation."¹² To some like Paul Windels, a president of the Regional Planning Association, it was the "togetherness" of community living that had to be found through planning. "For normal wholesome living," he wrote, "people must have a share in community life and association—something of human scale and participation to rekindle a sense of individual dignity and significance and social responsibility."¹³

Other writers have placed a high premium on the recrudescence of the individual through community action. In 1947, the editor of the *Architectural Record* reported that one of the significant trends in planning literature was the recognition of the needs of individuals and that recent conferences had placed a "greater emphasis on the spiritual and aesthetic needs of individuals than on the materialistic."¹⁴ Perhaps the classic statement of community planning for the individual is this quotation from a bulletin of the National Council for the Social Studies:

The community's most important resources are its human resources, and wise planning insists that primary importance shall be attached to the maximum development of individual ability. This planning must be concerned with all phases of individual development: economic, social, physical, mental, cultural, and moral.¹⁵

DEMOCRACY

In recent years, neighborhood unit planning

has also come to carry a certain political context. This appears in a variety of expressions such as that of James Dahir:

The absence of the sense of neighborhood or community in modern life poses a serious problem for the preservation of our American democracy.¹⁶

Or that of Clarence Stein:

There must be an opportunity for the true expression of democracy in action. Grass roots democracy requires participation of all in their common affairs. Small neighborhoods are essential if we are to have eye to eye democracy.¹⁷

Or that of Bryan J. Hovde:

The urban problem of today is how to reconstruct our cities to make them democratically and culturally functional.¹⁸

Indeed, while there is a good deal of discussion about the need for "democracy in the community," surprisingly little has appeared in the way of concrete suggestions for planning democratic action. One of the amazing things about the political scientists is their complete abstinence from this subject. When they write on city planning, they discuss administration, about which they are generally competent, or architectural style, economic organization, sociological problems, or esthetics, about which they are generally not competent. But rarely do they advance politics, political participation, or meaningful local self-government as an objective of planning. The case for any of these objectives has yet to be made effectively. It has been left to the sociologists and the architects, and while they have made a creditable attempt, the job is far from complete. Urban sociologist Louis Wirth, for example, has produced a fair discussion of the value of community participation, of the contact of people and their control of policy, but he does not openly state these things as ends of the planning process.¹⁹ It is regrettable that Lewis Mumford could do no more than skirt the subject in his *Culture of Cities*, but a few of the points he does make are well worth quoting. In one instance, he speaks out in support of the small unit of government.

The real alternative to the empty political patterns of the nineteenth century lies not in totalitarianism, but in just the opposite of this: the restoration of the

human scale in government, the multiplication of the autonomous units of service, the widening of the cooperative processes of government, the general reduction of the area of arbitrary compulsion, the restoration of the process of persuasion and rational agreement. Political life, instead of being the monopoly of remote specialists, must become as constant a process in daily living as the housewife's visit to the grocery or the butcher, and more frequent than the man's visit to the barber.²⁰

Later, he mentions the difficulty of conducting the political function without the necessary physical structure. Here he quotes the Webbs, indicating the extent to which trade unions are limited by the lack of physical accommodations, and he reminds his readers that the same thing is true of urban communities.

One of the difficulties in the way of political association is that we have not provided it with the necessary physical organs of existence: we have failed to provide the necessary sites, the necessary buildings, the necessary halls, rooms, meeting places.

The town meeting of the New England political system had reality because it had dimensions and members: the citizens met face to face in a special building, the town hall: they saw and heard their fellow citizens, and they discussed problems relating to a unit immediately within their grasp and vision.

Unfortunately, concludes Mumford, we now live under an "abstract and disembodied political democracy." We do not provide the proper facilities. We do not act "as if the political functions of communities were important ones." As a consequence, we have no political life.²¹

If political action as an end has been ignored, political participation as a means has not. The most noteworthy thing about planning, said Tracy B. Augur, is that it is becoming popular, and a function once reserved for the village sachems is now within the province of the people.²² Weston Burns wrote that the planner's job did not leave off with planning, but also included the responsibility for stimulating widespread public interest. A true cross section of social, cultural and economic interest had to be brought into the picture, for "plan-

ning must be broad enough to include all community-wide problems." To sum up, he said:

The new technique in community planning is to develop a democratic means of coordination so that the many energies and resources of a community can be synchronized behind agreed objectives. This means cooperative initiative and action.²³

Popular participation does not mean that you have to teach the people all of the technical details of planning, wrote Guy Greer. It does mean that reasonable planning leadership ought to promote widespread realization of the city's plight, present the populace with some notion of what the physical pattern ought to be and could be, and inform them how they might attain their wishes in the matter as speedily and efficiently as possible.²⁴

It is a natural and normal thing in a democratic society to suggest that the democratic process be applied to the planning function, for after all:

Planning involves the conscious selection of goals, the analysis of these goals from the standpoint of the wishes, needs, and resources of the community, with reference to their mutual compatibility, their order of priority, their implications and probable consequences, and the selection of the most efficient and acceptable means for attaining them.²⁵

Weston Burns is noted above discussing the force of the community "synchronized behind agreed objectives," but he does not describe the vital means by which such agreement shall be reached. The author who tells us that "planning involves the conscious selection of goals" later states that the planner does not set the goals. "Rather he discovers them and aids the community to find them." Then he takes an additional step. Sometimes, he says, the planner is forced to reconcile contradictory ends. "This raises the related question of the hierarchy of values of a society and the priority to be assigned to each of the ends sought."²⁶ Here stands an obvious inconsistency. If the planner does not set the goals, how can he reconcile the sometimes contradictory ends? Either the community chooses the ends or it does not. It would fall within most conceptions of the democratic theory for the planner to offer a series of alternatives to the people,

and for the people to choose among the alternatives. When, however, it is left to the planner to establish the priority of values, the system can scarcely be described as democratic.

In the superabundant supply of books and articles on city planning, one discovers few authors who really believe in the democratic process to the last ditch. If his writings are any indication, the average planner is prepared to impose his conception of the well planned city on any group of people because he knows it is good for them. A few do pay lip service to democracy, but even these dodge the ultimate issues of whether they or the people should select the priority of goals. It is the rare planner indeed who urges that planning should be submitted *in toto* to the rule of the majority. It is the rare planner who would concur with David Lilienthal's statement that "the test of democratic planning is whether the people will fight for it—not simply whether they will accept it, or approve it, or join in it—but whether they will fight for it."²⁷

Fortunately it is possible to discover at least one voice championing the rights of the people to a real share in decision making. In 1950, Joseph Hudnut, Dean of the Faculty of Design at Harvard University, published a provocative article in *American City* entitled, "Should Planners Shun Politicians?" The answer for Professor Hudnut was, of course, a very resounding "no." Modern planning, he wrote, is very much concerned with the happiness of populations and is made a real thing by men. It is not just a matter of the application of techniques. "Whatever planning may be in theory, in practice it is a political art." The need, then, is the introduction of a definite political process where questions of planning policy are involved. Planning bodies, he concludes, should stand or fall with the administration. Their alleged political independence "prohibits more than a precarious usefulness." Planning policies should originate in election pledges, and should be subjected to selection and approval by the democratic process. "If it should happen that the people of a city preferred bad planning to good, then, God bless them, they should have it."²⁸ One could not expect to find a fuller expression of democratic faith than this, nor would one expect the position to find ready acceptance among most professionals. In a later issue of the mag-

azine, there was printed what purported to be a rebuttal by the President of the New York State Federation of Planning Boards, Henry B. Raymore. His argument in summary was that: planning required continuity; an election pledge would force a man to take the short run view; the result would be "bad planning"; planners should "keep aware" of politics, but should do nothing to embarrass the administration; planning and politics are separate functions and should not be confused. Dean Hudnut rejoined with the obvious. "It seems evident that Mr. Raymore is thinking of the planner as expert technician, whereas I am thinking of the planner in his role as policy maker."²⁹ A nicer delineation of the issues would be difficult to find.

PLANNING AS A MUNICIPAL STAFF FUNCTION

There is another comparatively new conception of the proper function of city planning which is closely related to the practice of democracy and local self government, but has little if anything to do with neighborhood unit planning. This is the view of the planning commission as the major staff agency of municipal government. The leading proponent of the theory is Robert A. Walker, author of the notable text, *The Planning Function in Urban Government*.

Walker suggests that in the long run, planning "has tended to reflect the expanding scope of municipal government," but for the most part, cities have not exploited the full possibilities of the relationship. In business and in government, it is possible to distinguish two distinct kinds of planning. There is planning at the level of factory management or departmental direction, of which common examples are production planning, the solution of an engineering problem, or the arrangement of personnel for maximum efficiency. There is a second level of general policy determination or all-over administration. This is administrative planning as distinguished from managerial planning. In business, one would here consider the problems of long production schedules or fluctuations in demand. City planning has been preoccupied with the first type of operation. Physical layout has been the all-important thing, but one cannot leave off planning when the design of the plant is complete. Operative

planning over a long period is even more essential.

"The scope of city planning," concludes Walker, "is properly as broad as the scope of city government." As the city expands its functions, the concept of planning must undergo a similar extension.

The local planning process is an aspect of the process of local government. It is government looking to the future, determining desirable objectives and seeking the best and most economical means of achieving them.³⁰

THE ROLE OF THE POLITICAL SCIENTIST

It is impossible to examine the current trends in the theory and practice of city planning in this country without reaching the conclusion that at some points the field is vitally in need of the attention of the political scientist. In so far as the theory of planning is concerned, it is discovered that the political scientist has all but abdicated from his function. The cities in America are apparently in need of a theory of planning, but they must look to the architects, the engineers, and occasionally the urban sociologists for any offering of such a theory. The conception of city planning, once bound up in narrow notions of esthetics or efficiency engineering, is now as broad as the idea of politics itself. The ends of city planning may be esthetics or utility service, but they may also include a high level of economic activity within the community, and equitable distribution of goods and services among the inhabitants, a maximization of the possibilities of social intercourse, the attainment of the "full life" including physical and cultural recreation, a solution of transportation problems, or a whole host of other aims.

If this is true, the political scientist has a twofold task. First it is his responsibility to *suggest* to the community what might be the political aims or ends to be considered in planning a city. If he is concerned, for example, as a believer in the democratic philosophy, with the lack of urban political participation or with the inability of the average urban inhabitant to register a political opinion except for a few brief seconds each year behind the curtains of an automatic voting machine, he can study the problem within his community and suggest steps which might be taken to increase the

vitality of the political function. He has a responsibility to avoid solution by generalization that is just as compelling as that of the engineer or the landscape artist, for he of all persons should know that each community is a unique social grouping, but by observation and experience he will be able to develop a reservoir of ideas that at times can become extremely useful. To cite the simplest sort of instance, a study of the relationship between architectural layout and political activity will show that when a small group of homes is planned around a central court or park, i.e., some area of land that is common to all, the inhabitants will almost inevitably display a higher incidence of group political activity than when the same amount of land is used so that each home is set upon its separate plot, facing out upon the street. Now the first type of subdivision raises difficult problems for the utility engineer, not to mention the real estate salesman, and since these two categories of individuals have played a leading role in real estate development, it is not surprising to find planning codes and zoning ordinances which not only encourage the familiar gridiron pattern but actually discourage a layout such as that mentioned here. It must be remembered, however, that when these codes and ordinances were in the process of development, no one was suggesting that the value of full democratic participation should be considered along with the value of ease of utility service or ease of plot sales. If the political scientist has an interest in awakening his community to the consideration of political values in planning, he will have to convince the members of that community that his claim on their time and effort is as legitimate as that of the real estate developer, the engineer, or the architect. He will have to show, furthermore, that full political participation is as important as a new civic center or as vital as the free flow of traffic.

The political scientist has, secondly, a more challenging task, one which is suggested by the myriad conflicting claims for recognition by various groups within the community. It seems apparent from examination of a great mass of planning literature that the empirical data of the field have been well gathered, at least in so far as some phases of planning are concerned, but there is not yet any adequate "theory of

city planning" based upon all available fact. While the vacuum remains, the answers have been given largely in terms of the dominant power faction within the community or in terms of the technical, expert experience of some person who has been able to claim the ear of the community. The politics of planning is almost totally devoid of a theory of public interest. If any group in this country is close to the development of a workable theory of public interest, it is the political scientists. It so happens that they have largely ignored the area of urban planning in their efforts, concentrating most often on party and pressure group activities, but extremely good results seem likely were some transfer to be attempted. Perhaps the political theorist would find it beyond his ability to resolve the conflicting claims into some workable hypothesis, but if he were successful, his contribution would be great.

There are other levels of planning which urgently require the attention of the political scientists. They are especially needed to help resolve some of the dilemmas in administration. Initially, there seems to be a major controversy over the question of where planning ceases and execution commences. The municipal planning commission apparently needs a redefinition of its function. Furthermore, there is a growing dissatisfaction with the line agencies of city governments as executors of the comprehensive or master plan. As communities tend to broaden their activities in planning, this will become an increasingly widespread problem. If new types of agencies, such as the municipal authority, are brought into a more active plan execution role, their organization and administration will require thorough study by the political scientist, for they present extremely serious problems in administrative responsibility.

One of the great innovations of the New Deal was the establishment of a system of grants-in-aid made directly to agencies of local government for the purpose of clearing slums and erecting low-cost housing, both objectives of most current city plans. This idea has spread to the field of urban development, with federal funds now available to cities to assist in the clearance of blighted areas and to make those areas available for reuse by absorbing a portion of the unrealistic "market value" of the

land. The technique of federal aid to localities for such projects is in its infancy, but conceivably it could be spread into many other fields. Two important questions need investigation by political scientists as a result of this process. First, the nation ought to know what permanent effect this technique of by-passing the states will have on the American federal system. Secondly, there is a need to know the effect it will have on urban communities which choose to obtain the benefits of federal assistance through agencies of a city government. Specifically, in regard to this second problem, how far could a federal program extend without creating a group of local authorities which, having an outside source of income, would become irresponsible to the political will of the community?

For the political scientist to enter the field of city planning as a theorist and as an administrative adviser will require a considerable amount of personal courage, especially at the beginning: first because he will find himself in competition in an already overcrowded field, and secondly, because he cannot expect that his suggestions will be particularly welcome to persons who are receiving a personal advantage from the confusion of the current situation. The suggestion that the city ought to establish a priority of values in its planning is not apt to meet acceptance in all quarters. If the political scientist takes the next logical step and urges that the priority of values be set up on a democratic basis, if he is serious, that is, and not merely paying lip service to a myth in order to achieve a desired response, his opposition may be very strong. Furthermore, it would seem necessary that the political scientist obtain at least a basic working acquaintance with the other disciplines that are brought into play in the planning of a city—art, architecture, economics, engineering, sociology, and perhaps social psychology. Within standard educational curricula, this is a difficult objective to attain. It is, nonetheless, a necessary and worthwhile objective.

¹ For a typical "aesthetics" approach, see Charles Mulford Robinson, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities or the Practical Basis of Civic Aesthetics*, New York 1902. For the early engineer's point of view, see Nelson P. Lewis, *The Planning of the Modern City*, New York, 1916.

There is no intention to suggest here that only the modern thinkers are broad minded. The work of the

Austrian architect, Camillo Sitte, is evidence that a man lived in the Nineteenth Century who thought in what might be called modern times. Indeed, Sitte displayed a sense of appreciation for the social community, a feeling which did not find a counterpart among the professional planners in America until the third decade of the Twentieth Century. Perhaps much of what Sitte had to say was lost upon the earlier planners because he spoke with the metaphor of the artist. He saw more than aesthetic sterility in the straight avenue and the gridiron block, however, for they brought a social sterility and deadened community life. A public square to Sitte was more than a break in the dull monotony of an avenue or a place to erect a fountain or statue. It was the stage and the backdrop where the full play of community life could be enacted. In Sitte's view, no architect could dictate the design of any square or public building. This belief was the groundwork for an architectural understanding that a public building had to be an integral part of the environment of each organic town pattern.

Men like Sitte are exceptions, but they continually appear in the development of city planning to prevent any attempt to write its history as a course of regular unfolding.

² Albert C. Schweizer, "A Procedure For City Planning," *The Johns Hopkins University report of the urban planning conference under the auspices of Johns Hopkins University*, pp. 126, 217.

³ Harlean James, *Land planning in the United States for city, state, and nation*, p. 92. Guy Greer and Alvin Hansen suggest that the planning commission should be as competent in economics and sociology as in the technical field of city planning. They consider the first duty of every commission to conduct economic and social research to determine: the proper and desirable role of the particular urban community in its region and the nation. *Urban redevelopment and housing*, p. 8.

⁴ Maurice R. Davie, "The Sociological Basis of Future City Planning," Paul Zucker, Editor, *New architectural and city planning, a symposium*, p. 343.

⁵ Arthur Hillman, *Community organization and planning*, *passim*.

⁶ Werner Hegemann, *City planning housing*, p. xii.

⁷ Russell V. Black "Large Scale Housing and the City Plan," *Planning for city, state, region and nation proceedings of the joint conferences on planning*, May 4, 5, and 6, 1936, Richmond, Virginia, p. 13.

⁸ James Dahir, *The neighborhood unit plan, its spread and acceptance*, pp. 9-23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30, 38.

¹⁰ Clarence S. Stein, "The City of the Future—A City of Neighborhoods," *American City*, Vol. 60, p. 123, Nov., 1945.

¹¹ Raymond Unwin, "The City Development Plan," *Town planning conference*, p. 252.

¹² Walter Gropius and Martin Wagner, "A Program for City Reconstruction," *The Architectural forum*, Vol. 79, p. 75, July, 1943.

¹³ Paul Windels, "Urban Planning Talks," *Architectural record*, Vol. 107, p. 240, June, 1950.

¹⁴ Kenneth K. Stowell, "Planning Too is for People," *Architectural record*, Vol. 102, p. 67, August, 1947.

¹⁵ National Council for the Social Studies, *Community planning in a democracy*, p. 5.

¹⁶ James Dahir, *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁷ Clarence S. Stein, *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁸ Bryn J. Hovde, "Planning and Freedom in a Democracy," *The American Scholar*, Vol. 17, p. 301, Summer, 1948.

¹⁹ Louis Wirth, "Planning for Community Participation," Stanford (University) Workshop on Community Leadership, *Community planning for peacetime living*, pp. 79-89.

²⁰ Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of cities*, p. 382.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 483.

²² Tracy B. Augur, "Citizen Participation in City Planning," *The Annals of the American Academy of political and social science*, Vol. 242, p. 101, November, 1945.

²³ Weston S. Burns, "Democracy in Community Planning," *American city*, Vol. 60, p. 105, November, 1945.

²⁴ Guy Greer, *Your City tomorrow*, pp. 181-182.

²⁵ Louis Wirth, "Planning: A Highroad to Freedom and Order," *American city*, Vol. 62, p. 85, June, 1947.

²⁶ Loc. cit.

²⁷ Tracy B. Augur, *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁸ Joseph Hudnut, "Should Planners Shun Politicians?," *American city*, Vol. 65, p. 94, March, 1950.

²⁹ Henry B. Raymore, "Let the Politicians Practice Politics and Let the Planners Plan," *American city*, Vol. 65, p. 147, May, 1950.

³⁰ Robert A. Walker, *The Planning function in urban government*, especially pp. 107-113, 120-122, 128-129, 183-185, 363-367.

World War I — A Needless Victory?

PAUL A. BECKER, S.J.

West Baden College, West Baden Springs, Indiana

On April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson appeared before the Congress of the United States and dedicated "our lives and our fortunes, everything that we have and everything that we are, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured."¹ When he had finished his address, an almost unanimous ovation rose from the assembled members of both houses, to usher in a new era in the annals of American History. After more than two and a half years of vigorous opposition on the part of the great majority of its citizens, the United States had finally drifted into the great European war.

Could that unhappy event have been avoided? It has been suggested in recent years that our part in World War I, with the great losses sustained in lives, limbs and dollars, was completely unnecessary. Further, to belie the words of the late President Wilson, when the Allied powers sat down at the peace table, the terms forced upon conquered Germany were so far from resembling principles of birth, happiness and peace, or anything at all democratic for that matter, that many have since referred to them as the very seeds from which later sprang World War II. And since the Allies were only able to dictate such terms to Germany because of the decisive victory won by our troops in Europe, it could be argued that not only was our entry into the war unnecessary, it was even a cause, if indirectly, of the second World War.

While we will never have absolute certitude

as to whether or not our participation in the war could have been avoided, this should in no way discourage us from forming a well-reasoned opinion on the issue. With this end in view, let us look back on the events of those two and a half years preceding April, 1917.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war in 1914, Great Britain by means of her vast naval forces inaugurated a blockade of the North Sea, from the northern coast of Scotland to Iceland. By this move, she hoped to reduce considerably the numerous shipments of food and other supplies which entered Germany by sea, thereby forcing her to sue for peace on Allied terms. This maneuver prompted a speedy retaliation on the part of Germany in the form of a submarine campaign against British shipping. Concerning this campaign we have in retrospect the views of the eminent English publicists, Lieutenant Commander, the Honorable J. M. Kenworthy, M.P., and George Young: "The first German submarine campaign was logical and legal. Logical, because if the British were entitled to starve German women and children, the Germans had the right to do the same if they could to the British. Legal, because the right of submarine to sink at sight under international law could be sustained without stretching any more points than had been strained by the British in making rubber and food contraband."²

The German announcement of February 4, 1915 warned that all enemy merchant vessels would be destroyed, and added that "neutral vessels sail in that area (around Great Britain and Ireland) at their own risk, and might

suffer from attacks intended to strike enemy ships."³ American trade with England immediately prior to the war had been considerable, and with the war and the demand it created for a variety of new products, including munitions, American shipping increased to greater proportions than ever. It was inevitable then that a few mistakes would be made, and the surprising fact is that more American ships were not mistakenly torpedoed by German submarines. However, this does admit of explanation, and the explanation is that Germany was making a conscious effort to avoid injuring relations with the United States. The German government had no illusions as to the necessity of keeping America out of the war. Von Papen spoke frankly and prophetically when he reported to Falkenhayn: "General, if you do not succeed in keeping the United States from joining the coalition of our enemies, you will lose the war; on this point there can be absolutely no doubt."⁴ Moreover, in an exchange of notes in February, 1915, concerning the practice of belligerent ships flying a neutral flag, the German government took pains to point out to the American government that she had been guilty of error in imputing to Germany any deliberate intention to destroy neutral vessels.

In March, 1915, a British ship, the *Falaba*, was torpedoed and sunk with one American on board. The immediate American reaction was one of great indignation, and, after much debating, Mr. Lansing, then Under-Secretary of State, expressed the view that the United States government could follow either of two courses. It could adopt the measure of warning all Americans to keep out of the German war zone, if on board a merchant vessel not of American nationality; or it could hold Germany to a strict accountability for every American life lost by submarine attack on the high seas. This second course seemed to him the only one in keeping with the dignity of the American government, and this was the policy which, in the last analysis, was unfortunately adopted by President Wilson in dealing with Germany.⁵

From the start, it was obvious to all parties concerned that the United States both could not and would not tolerate the destruction of her own ships, merchant or otherwise. Yet it

was the opinion of many men in the American government, including Secretary of State Bryan, Vice President Marshall, Senators Jones, Stone, and LaFollette, and Admiral Chadwick, that Americans had no right to demand the protection of their government while sailing on a ship belonging to a belligerent nation. Yet despite this opposition, Mr. Lansing and President Wilson steadfastly maintained the view that the United States had the obligation to guarantee the safety of such belligerent merchantmen, whenever an American citizen should recklessly decide to sail or serve on one. The plain fact is that such a view is legally unsound.⁶

There were two incidents in the early part of the war that involved American vessels. The merchantman *Cushing* was bombed but not sunk by a German plane in March 1915, and on May 1st, the *Gulflight* was sunk by a German submarine. In answer to American protests the German government replied that the *Cushing* was attacked by mistake due to inadequate marking, and that the *Gulflight* had been mistaken for a British ship, since at the time it was torpedoed it was in the vicinity of British patrol boats, and in communication with one of them. For both these unfortunate errors, compensation was made.⁷ From this as well as from German documents, it is clear that Germany decidedly did not wish to provoke the United States to war. It is true that the German Admiralty agitated from the outset for an unrestricted campaign which would include neutral vessels, but the Kaiser, Bethmann-Hollweg, and other political leaders realized only too well how essential it was to the German cause that America remain neutral.⁸

It is with good reason that Doctor Tansill emphasizes the numerous ties between the United States and Great Britain.⁹ Language, economic interests, a certain natural sympathy and understanding which the majority of Americans felt for the English, together with a corresponding remoteness from Germany, all these, plus the ingenious propaganda campaign carried on under the direction of Sir Gilbert Parker, caused Americans to favor the Allies. As a result, while feeling was very much opposed to America's entering the war, there was a growing tendency on the part of Americans to

identify their interests with those of the Allies.¹⁰ Incidents such as the sinking of the *Falaba* and the *Gulflight* were supplemented by reports of the most outrageous atrocities being perpetrated by the Germans in Belgium. Of course this was all propaganda circulated by Parker and his bureau; the atrocity stories were later denied by American newsmen attached to the German army. But the harm had been done, and no denial could ever sufficiently counteract the impressions formed with the initial publication of these charges. Such was the attitude of the American people then, before May, 1915. They abhorred the very idea of war; yet they sympathized with the Allies, and were shocked and indignant at reports of German brutality and barbarism. The President himself opposed and detested the idea of war as much as anyone, and he was sincerely determined to exert every effort to avoid it. It was most unfortunate then, that Wilson was inclined to be so over-strict in his interpretation of the rights of American citizens on belligerent vessels.

Had it ever occurred to either British or American officials what would be the effect of more American lives being lost at sea? Colonel House wrote of a meeting he had with Lord Grey early in 1915: "We spoke of the probability of an ocean liner's being sunk, and I told him if this were done, a flame of indignation would sweep across America which would in itself probably carry us into the war."¹¹ Perhaps certain German officials also thought along these lines, for early in April 1915 the German embassy decided to publish a notice in the principal New York newspapers, warning American citizens that British ships were liable to destruction in the war zone around the British Isles, and that anyone traveling on such a vessel did so at his own risk. For some reason the notice was not published until May 1st, the date on which the *Lusitania* was due to depart. Many of the passengers were alarmed, but were reassured by the Cunard Line that there was absolutely no danger of the swift liner's falling prey to German submarines. On May 7th, twelve hours out of Liverpool, one of the passengers¹² writes that he had expected the ship to pick up speed in a dash for the coast, since they were at that time within the war zone.

Instead the ship sailed along at a more than leisurely pace, without observing the customary precaution of zig-zagging to provide a more difficult target for submarines. At exactly eight minutes past two, Greenwich time, a torpedo struck the giant Cunarder just beneath the bridge. Immediately there followed a second explosion, believed now to have been a boiler or part of the 4200 cases of munitions on board the ship. Due to the list of vessel and the inexperience of the crew, only six lifeboats were launched before the *Lusitania* sank quietly beneath the waves, only 18 minutes after the first explosion. Of the 1900 persons on board, over 1200 were lost, among them 128 American citizens.

As more than one author has shrewdly observed, the idea of millions of German civilians slowly starving because of the British blockade evoked sympathy of a rather abstract and detached nature. But a young American mother, standing on the deck of the sinking ship, an infant in her arms, waiting for someone to help her into a lifeboat that was destined never to be launched, presented an image of such genuine pathos that few Americans could consider it without being overcome with rage and indignation. Says Walter Millis:

"Reasoned understanding of the full details of the tragedy might have mitigated somewhat the emotional responses to it. But the passengers were dead; and within 24 hours after the *Lusitania's* mastheads had disappeared, the great mass of pro-Ally sympathizers in the United States, the overwhelming majority of the editors and immense numbers of their readers were alike beyond any reasoned judgment, sense of proportion, or ability even to analyze clearly what had taken place."¹³

The incident was branded with such terms as 'deliberate murder,' 'massacre,' 'outrage,' and 'wanton and cruel ferocity' by newspapers across the nation.¹⁴ The *New York Times* wrote: "There must go to the Imperial Government at Berlin a demand that the Germans shall no longer make war like savages drunk with blood." And the *New York Tribune*, almost approaching the ultimate in pathos, cried out: "The nation which remembered the sailors of the *Maine* will not forget the civilians of the

Lusitania." Former President Theodore Roosevelt, a staunch advocate of war for some time before the terrible sea disaster, announced: "This represents not merely piracy, but piracy on a vaster scale of murder than the old time pirates ever practiced."¹⁵ Certainly it was no difficult task to determine how the American people felt over the sinking of the great liner, and yet it must be pointed out that while they deplored the action and desired satisfaction, there was almost no one who felt that the incident called for war. Indeed, for all the imprecations hurled at the Germans by the American press, "when it came to what the editors wanted done about the crime, there was an unfortunate vagueness."¹⁶ The *Savannah News* stated emphatically: "The American people don't want to become involved in the war, and they don't want their government to be placed in the position of retreating from any position it has taken."¹⁷ However, it was precisely the position steadfastly taken by Wilson concerning the immunity of belligerent vessels carrying American citizens, which rendered the first demand an impossible one, and the war inevitable. Moreover, it was the opinion of the *New York Times* that in the spring of 1915 the American public as a whole, was not ready to fight over the *Lusitania*.¹⁸ The White House during the Wilson administration was perhaps in closer contact with the will of the people, as expressed through the press, than during any previous administration. Out of over 1000 editorials from newspapers all over the country, it was found that only six advocated immediate war.¹⁹ On Monday evening, May 10th, in an address before a gathering of 15,000 newly naturalized citizens in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, President Wilson gave the first indication of what his policy in regard to the *Lusitania* would be, when he said: "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right."²⁰

On May 13th the first *Lusitania* Note was dispatched to the German government, in which Wilson upheld the right of American citizens to travel on belligerent vessels. He was supported by the press in this attitude.²¹ The German reply expressed, as has been men-

tioned, apologies for the *Gulflight* incident, but claimed the legality of the action against the *Lusitania*. All this time Secretary of State Bryan had been arguing with both Wilson and Under-Secretary Lansing the point that it was grossly unjust for "one man, acting purely for himself and his own interests, and without consulting his government," to involve America in war by traveling on a belligerent ship that might be torpedoed.²² Just before dispatching the second note Wilson conceded that Bryan was right, but he would not publicly make the admission, because he felt it would indicate weakness in the American position.²³ On June 8th Secretary Bryan submitted his resignation and on the following day, the second note was sent. Of course Bryan had no other choice; by this time it was clear to him that the course of action which he had so persistently urged upon the President had at last been decisively rejected.

What then is the import of the *Lusitania* incident? The British utilized the event to the utmost during the following week by issuing the notorious Bryce Report on atrocities in Belgium. Even German officials realized that they had suffered a severe blow, for it was evident that the American mind now regarded them a little better than brutal barbarians. Von Bernstorff wrote to Bethmann-Hollweg on May 7th: "It is not a bit of good glossing over things. Our best plan is frankly to acknowledge that our propaganda in this country has, as a result of the *Lusitania* incident, completely collapsed."²⁴ Events of lesser significance such as the sinking of the *Gulflight* and the *Falaba*, now seen in relation to the *Lusitania*, grew into legends of enormous proportions. Yet for all this, neither Wilson nor the American people thought enough of the affair to go to war over it. It was precisely because the American people believed that Wilson had kept them out of war that he was reelected in 1916.²⁵ Professor Bailey has summed up the whole incident for us. He wrote in 1936:

"The *Lusitania* incident shocked the civilized world; added immeasurably to the mad fervor of the Allied cause; alienated a vast amount of sympathy for the Central Powers, particularly in America; caused the almost complete collapse of the German propaganda

campaign in the United States; though not directly responsible for the entrance of the United States into the war, it contributed powerfully to the inflamed state of mind which made possible the final break."²⁶

Lansing himself, now Secretary of State, and an ardent interventionist, admitted in his memoirs that only German methods of warfare could bring the United States to the help of the Allies.²⁷ And in reviewing all the events of the period it becomes abundantly clear that that is exactly what happened. The *Lusitania* certainly contributed to an anti-German sentiment, but that is the most that can be said for it. In the last analysis it was the more general issue of submarine warfare which determined America's entry into the war.

Germany's submarine campaign was relaxed considerably after the *Arabic* Pledge of September 1915. In March 1916 a French merchant ship, the *Sussex*, was torpedoed with Americans on board, although none were lost. Again the German government made apologies and even promised to abstain altogether from attacking unarmed ships of their enemies.²⁸ The principal complaint of President Wilson in his note to Germany on the *Sussex* was, as in all previous cases, that such actions were "utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity."²⁹

Late in 1916 the German government, realizing the necessity of resuming a more aggressive policy in order to be assured of victory, began to yield to the wishes of the admiralty for a less restricted submarine campaign. By January 31, 1917 it was clear to Hindenburg and Holtzendorf that all chances for a negotiated peace had disappeared, and the German government announced that after February 1st "all navigation, that of neutrals included, was forbidden in the war zone around the British Isles, with the exception of passenger vessels."³⁰ Diplomatic relations were severed on February 3rd, and after the sinking of four American ships in March, President Wilson on April 2nd asked Congress to declare a state of war.

Submarine warfare was the principal issue of the war. Could that war have been avoided? Doctor Tansill expresses the view that a proclamation along the line of the defeated Gore-

McLemore resolutions, prohibiting Americans from traveling on belligerent vessels, would have been perfectly in keeping with American dignity, and would have been a very tactful move as well, calculated to afford Germany a means of carrying out her submarine campaign, and at the same time of keeping the United States neutral. Both of these aims the German government recognized as essential to victory. It would, moreover, have been a far more legal manner of dealing with the problem.³¹ As it was, Wilson in his zeal to uphold the rights of humanity neglected to give adequate attention to the strictly legal aspect of the case.³² Millis agrees with Tansill on this point, and both claim that if Wilson had listened to Bryan and others like him, the United States would never have drifted into the war as it did.³³

On the other hand, Seymour defends Wilson's action, for he agrees with Wilson, that if America had granted to Germany the concession of not upholding American rights on belligerent vessels, there would have been no end to concessions.³⁴ Whether this is true or not will never be known for certain. But this idea of Germany in the driver's seat, so to speak, looking for every opportunity to milk the American government of one concession after another, does not seem compatible with the timidity she manifested in abstaining from the torpedoing of neutral ships during the first two and a half years of the war. Moreover, it seems fairly probable that, since Germany's best interests were closely bound up in American neutrality, she would have gratefully availed herself of any opportunity to maintain such a status and at the same time be able to pursue the submarine campaign against Britain which she found so vital to her war effort.

One must admit that the situation which faced President Wilson in late 1916 and early 1917 had reached the point of insolubility. Had he grasped its full import at an earlier time, with the balance, breadth, and moderation of men such as William Jennings Bryan, America might have been spared the cost in money and in lives of her part in two world wars, and Wilson's ultra-idealistic outlook might have brought his life to a happier and less tragic end, an end which the genuine sincerity of the man most certainly deserved.

¹ Charles Callen Tansill, *America Goes to War*, Boston, 1938, 659, from the Address of the President Delivered to Congress, Apr. 2, '17.

² Clinton Hartley Grattan, *Why We Fought*, New York, 1929, 279.

³ Edwin Borchard and William Potter Lage, *Neutrality for the United States*, New Haven, 1937, 125.

⁴ H. C. Peterson, *Propaganda for War, the Campaign against American Neutrality—1914-1917*, Norman, 1939, 134.

⁵ Tansill, *America Goes to War*, 256.

⁶ Borchard and Lage, *Neutrality for the U. S.*, 177.

⁷ Grattan, *Why We Fought*, 288.

⁸ Charles Seymour, *American Neutrality, 1914-1917*, New Haven, 1935, 65.

⁹ Tansill, *America Goes to War*, 16 ff.

¹⁰ Peterson, *Propaganda for War*, 176.

¹¹ Walter Millis, *The Road to War, America 1914-1917*, Boston, 1935, 160.

¹² Charles E. Lauriat, *The Lusitania's Last Voyage*, Cambridge, 1915, 5.

¹³ Millis, *The Road to War*, 170.

¹⁴ Tansill, *America Goes to War*, 274.

¹⁵ Millis, *The Road to War*, 172.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹⁸ Grattan, *Why We Fought*, 298.

¹⁹ Tansill, *America Goes to War*, 275.

²⁰ Millis, *The Road to War*, 178.

²¹ Tansill, *America Goes to War*, 305.

²² *Ibid.*, 267.

²³ Borchard and Lage, *Neutrality for the U.S.*, 162.

²⁴ Grattan, *Why We Fought*, 94.

²⁵ Seymour, *American Neutrality, 1914-1917*, 150.

²⁶ Thomas Bailey, "The Sinking of the *Lusitania*,"

American Historical Review, XLI, 60.

²⁷ Seymour, *American Neutrality*, 150.

²⁸ Borchard and Lage, *Neutrality for the U. S.*, 154

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 166.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 171.

³¹ Tansill, *America Goes to War*, 269.

³² Borchard and Lage, *Neutrality for the U. S.*, 177.

³³ Millis, *The Road to War*, 189-190.

³⁴ Seymour, *American Neutrality*, 168 ff.

The Soviet Navy; A Challenge to the Supremacy of the Seas

Part II

WILLIAM HUNTER SHANNON

Arundel Junior High School, Gainbrills, Maryland

THE SOVIET NAVY IN WORLD WAR II

The record of the Soviet Navy in World War II was as meager as that of World War I. The Soviet Union did not profit from the experiences of the First World War. Her navy was still subject to the direct command of the army.

Had the navy of the U.S.S.R. operated independently she might have stopped the ceaseless flow of goods between the neutral Scandinavian countries and Germany. The Murmansk Run would have been relieved of the ordeal by air and the dangers from under the sea. Thousands of tons of shipping might have been saved. Naval escort ships of the U.S. and British navies could have been relieved of convoy duty in order to have been used to greater advantage in other theaters of operation.

The achievements of the Soviet Navy as an aggressive force against the enemy were almost nil. Except for the possible sinking of two German destroyers and some small auxiliary craft, the record is without distinction. The chief claim to fame of the Soviet Navy was the prevention of a German push through the

Baltic to Leningrad. Thus once again the same strategy employed in World War I was repeated during the second world struggle.

The bravery and valor of certain Russian sailors and marines at the defense of Sevastopol merits distinction. The fame they well deserved was in their ability to defend the port as infantrymen and artillerymen. To their credit also was the ability to withstand continuous air attacks by the Luftwaffe, which were so fierce and destructive that even the Germans could not understand how any human being could endure them.³⁴

If the Russians failed to perform well in actual combat they made up for their deficiencies by acquiring coastal areas and strategic bases in both the Far East and north-eastern Europe. Russia's successes in the Far East as a result of the Yalta agreement have already been related. In Europe she dominated the northern shore of Estonia. The important city of Tallinn enabled her to control the approaches to Leningrad on the Gulf of Finland. Upon acquiring Latvia she was provided the

two ice-free ports of Ventspils and Lepaya which would give her a naval defense for the harbor of Riga.

The prize of Lithuania netted Russia the ice-free port of Memel. In the southern Baltic Russia obtained Königsberg, the key to the Bay of Danzig. From Finland she obtained a portion of the Rybachi and Snedri peninsulas. A part of Spitzbergen Island, rich in coal and of immense value as a future naval base, went to Russia.

If Russia's prominent role in World War II was that of land animal she emerged with a greater realization of the strategic importance of her maritime needs.

THE SOVIET NAVY TODAY

The size and potential might of the Soviet Navy today is largely a matter of speculation. According to some foreign correspondents Russia seems to be building an up-to-date streamlined fleet emphasizing guided missiles and torpedoes instead of big naval guns. *U. S. News and World Report* (April 11, 1952), stated that battleship and cruisers of wholly new type, designed primarily to use missiles, are the backbone of the Soviet Navy now under construction.³⁵

There seems to be no interest in aircraft carriers. The only carrier listed to date is the German *Graf Zeppelin* now being used as an experimental ship for guided missiles. Instead of carriers, Russia seems to place more emphasis on fast interceptor planes.

Brassey's Annual for 1952 states, "Russian naval aviation entirely shore-based was brought prominently to the notice of the public last year by the display of new twin-jet bombers on Navy Day. Again no reliable details are available of the full strength of the naval air arm, although a Scandinavian report gives the strength in bombers, fighters and reconnaissance machines as over 2,500. But it can only be a defensive arm by reason of its comparative immobility and the lack of any carrier to transport it into an offensive weapon."³⁶

Brassey's Annual accounts for a Swedish report that Russian battleships of a new type are under construction, but states "that the lack of substantiating evidence from any other source must make it extremely doubtful whether these ships have any real existence

except in the imaginations of some Baltic journalists." However, *Brassey's* continues, "It seems reasonable to conclude that the many reports of new building trials of large ships in the Baltic must have referred to the new cruisers now being built. These are of the *Sverdlov* class, of which it is believed that at least six are under construction. One report from the Baltic states that a cruiser with an estimated displacement of 12,000 tons was seen on trials in late 1951, and the assumption is that this is the first of the new class, though at least two more should have been launched and be nearing completion now. They are believed to carry nine 8-inch guns in triple turrets, together with heavy anti-aircraft armament."³⁷ This account published in 1952 mentions nothing concerning guided missile installations on the cruisers.

The report in *U. S. News and World Report* for April 1951, stated that Stalin "has fifteen to twenty cruisers all new or remodeled since World War II and plans to add 20 more including four supercruisers. The specific task for which these cruisers were designed seems to be "fast interception of enemy convoys and missile bombardment of enemy coastal areas."³⁸

Although *Brassey's Annual* denies the constant reports that the Soviets are building a new type of battleship, *Jane's Fighting Ships* lists four battleships of a new powerful type in Russian dock yards. These ships are said to be equipped with one or two catapult towers for firing radio-controlled guns. They are also equipped with radar installation and anti-aircraft and anti-submarine protection.

The battleships thought by *Jane's* to be equipped and refitted for modern naval warfare are the *Sovyetski Soyuz* reported to be laid down in 1938 or 1939 and launched in 1945. This battle wagon was supposed to have been commissioned and carried out her trials in June of 1950. The other battleships are the *Strana Sovietov*, March 1950. (Country of the Soviets), and *Sovietskaia-Belorussia* (Soviet White Russia), the *Sovietski Soyuz* (The Constitution of Stalin and Russia).³⁹

Jane's Fighting Ships also indicated that the hull of a 40,000 ton battleship laid down on the slip at Baltic Yard, Leningrad (1940), has now been demolished. Another ship *Sovietskaia-*

Ukrainia of a larger and slightly altered design, laid down after the war, is still on stocks in Leningrad.

In destroyer strength Russia seems to trail the United States. Russia has only 70 regular destroyers plus 33 speedy small destroyers. *Brassey's* states that Russia is building the well tried "O" class of destroyer with an improved design. About four of these are built every year and are apparently satisfactory to the Russians, although naval experts in the West claim they lack the necessary robustness of a fleet destroyer. This type of destroyer is credited with a speed of 40 knots and carries four 5.1-inch guns and eight 21-inch tubes as main armament. Soviet destroyers are used largely for patrol duty, to locate enemy convoys and task forces to be worked over by Russian submarines.⁴⁰

Russia is building a great number of torpedo boats in order to protect her inland seas and to intercept the enemy fleets in seas such as the Baltic or the Mediterranean. At the present time she has several hundred of these specialized craft. Several hundred more are supposedly under construction at the present time.⁴¹

Rounding out the surface craft in Russia's powerful navy are mine sweepers, fleet mine sweepers, mine layers, river and harbor patrol craft, large ice breakers (immensely strong in framing and scantlings with thick plating and decks strengthened in order that guns can be mounted in war time), a number of smaller ice breakers, fleet oilers and river boats.

The most feared menace of the present Russian Navy is, of course, the submarine. No fewer than 370 submarines are now in service. Most of them may be identified by number and some by names.

One hundred and twenty submarines are reported to be under construction in Soviet dock yards. They belong to four different types: 1) the improved K-type, 2) the fast minelaying type with a submerged speed of 25 knots, 3) the German type XXI, 4) the German type XXIII. Also to be included are the early M or Malutka (baby or little one) type 1935-40 and the late M type, the M62.⁴²

Both M-types are used for harbor and coastal operations. They can be disassembled

easily and transported by rail to where they are needed and then quickly reassembled and put into action. There were a number of M-62's in operation around Vladivostok during the Korean War, having been transported by the Trans-Siberian Railroad from other points in the Soviet Union.⁴³

The very best submarines in the Soviet undersea fleet came from Germany in 1945: they grabbed over half the big submarine yards in Stettin and Danzig. A number of the best German submarine engineers and commanders have not been heard from since that time. Among them was one Walther, who developed the hydrogen peroxide engine and the famed schnorkel breathing device.⁴⁴

The huge Walther engine gives a submarine four or five times the underwater power of any previous submarine. The schnorkel operates along the lines of a flush toilet and is undetectable by visual observation and until recently by radar. This device enables a submarine to run on her diesels and to charge her batteries while under water.

According to *Brassey's Annual*, however, many of the Russian submarines are conventional boats with ordinary submarine diesel. The schnorkel, of course, is standard equipment for all underwater craft but now it can be detected by supersonic instruments. It is wise to remember, though, that the largest Russian submarines are the fleet type of 1000 tons and up which can go any where and operate for prolonged periods of time. It is this type of submarine which could easily set off a guided missile attack⁴⁵ several hundred miles off the eastern or western coast of the United States and blast important defense centers, not only along the coast, but well into the interior.

The rapid buildup of submarines behind the Iron Curtain has caused more alarm in the western world than any other development. Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson recently commented, "When anyone mentions the Russian submarines and the fact that we were dumb enough to turn over the whole German submarine fleet to the Russians, I get a little hot and stay hot for several minutes."⁴⁶

Admiral Robert Carney, Chief of Naval Operations, in a speech given before a luncheon meeting of the National Press Club, declared

that the threat of a Soviet attack on American seaboard cities by guided atomic missiles from submarines is a grave probability. He also stated that the possibilities of submarines are developing so fast that it is impossible to keep track of them. It would be dangerous to underestimate Russian capabilities. "We have been wrong on estimates before."⁴⁷

English authorities quoting *Jane's Fighting Ships* viewed with alarm on October 22, 1953, that the United States was far behind Russia in submarine production, in spite of the fact that the United States has given the world its first atomic-powered submarine.⁴⁸

Russia is rapidly moving from seventh place to a new position of second place in the world's total naval strength. She is catching up to Britain and may even surpass within the next few years the United States. With a submarine that cannot be detected a great distance, due to the lack of a long-range sonar device, all types of possibilities impend. It is small wonder then, the Secretary of Defense gets hot, for he realizes quite well that there is yet no effective protection against a Soviet submarine attack.

We think in terms of a giant naval buildup behind the Iron Curtain; yet closer investigation will reveal that Russia's Navy is not so much one that has been developed as one that has been acquired. Most of their battleships are of the Italian and German type. Their destroyers are Japanese, ex-German and Italian types. A great many of her vessels were ceded to her under the Italian Peace Treaty. A number of the Japanese and German vessels she confiscated as spoils of war. Also one may list frigates from Great Britain and torpedo boats from Germany and Estonia.⁴⁹

As for her submarines, some were built by Italian firms, some came from Estonia but her best ones came from Germany. The Russians more so than any capitalistic country display a rapacious acquisitive urge. Besides this they have a knack for taking inventions of others and perfecting them in such a manner that usually they end up with a better finished product than the country from which they stole the design.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOVIET NAVY

The Navy of the U.S.S.R. is composed of four fleets, the Northern, the Baltic, Black Sea

and Pacific Fleets. In addition, there are the flotillas of the Amur River, the Caspian Sea, the Danube and Dnieper rivers.⁵⁰

Each fleet possesses certain ships and units prepared to deal with the specific conditions of its own theatre. Each fleet has its own naval aircraft, supply bases and hydrographic facilities. Both fleets and flotillas are administered by commanding officers and naval councils. In addition each has its own political and cultural organizations and educational institutions.⁵¹

The administrative organ of the Soviet naval forces is the People's Commissariat of the navy headed by an Admiral. It is composed of the naval general staff, the political administrative department and various administrative branches and agencies dealing with such specific tasks as shipbuilding, training, supplies, etc.⁵²

In the present Soviet Navy there are five admirals and six officer ranks. The highest is that of General Admiral. This officer is the equivalent of Marshal in the Red Army. He wears an insignia of five stars.

The insignia denoting rank has changed somewhat in recent years. Stripes are no longer worn on sleeves, and rank is distinguished by shoulder straps. Now, executive officers have golden shoulder straps with silver stars and black stripes. Engineers have similar straps but the stripes are red and narrower. Constructors have silver shoulder straps with golden stars and black stripes.⁵³

The Soviets do not differ so much from us in naming their naval vessels. Battleships are named after Russian countries. Cruisers are named for political leaders and famous admirals. Flotilla leaders take their names from birds and winds, submarines after fishes and animals, minesweepers after weapons and ship equipment, gunboats after tribes, surveying vessels after astronomical terms, depot ships after towns and rivers and finally icebreakers are named for political leaders and Arctic explorers.⁵⁴

The Soviet Navy is manned through a system of compulsory military training. The draft age is 19. The terms of service are five years for men on ships, four years for men in shore defense and naval aviation, and two years for other branches. After completing their term

of service, enlisted men and officers must stay in the naval reserve until the age of fifty.⁵⁵

Most of the officers are graduates of the naval institute at Leningrad. Others are drawn from reserves and from non-commissioned officers.

Promotions of officers take place after fixed terms of service. A lieutenant must serve three years before promotion, a senior lieutenant three years, a lieutenant captain four years, a lieutenant commander four years and a commander eight years. Officers may be promoted for distinguished service. N.C.O's with sufficient knowledge may qualify for officers. In the Soviet fleet there were quite a few admirals, who twenty-five years ago were ordinary seamen.⁵⁶

Recreation for officers and men is largely devoted to sports. Frequent sports events are held on ships and shore bases in which officers and enlisted men participate. Officers, however, have clubs set up to meet their advanced requirements.⁵⁷

The Soviet Naval Reserve is known as DOSFLOT or the Volunteer Society for aid to the Navy. In 1948 Leningrad set an example for the rest of the country by establishing a large reserve for all three branches of the service. In the Ukraine that same year thousands of Soviet citizens joined DOSFLOT where they participated in water sports, began training as river or coastal pilots, and mechanics or they took excursions on the rivers or inland seas. Veterans are compelled to take advanced training from time to time in order to keep in physical trim and to learn of advances made in guided missiles, submarine warfare or any other important development in naval warfare.⁵⁸

All reservists are required to take part in some sport. Increased attention has been given to football, basketball, track races and tennis matches. The reserve program emphasizes mental, physical and moral training and includes all of the eligible young men and women from the farms and industrial centers.

OUR PATTERN FOR SURVIVAL

In October 1949, Operation "Miki" in Hawaii introduced a new age in naval warfare. The results of this test proved for all time the ability of rocket-firing submarines to operate in conjunction with other vessels and other

services. This has changed the outlook on the whole guided-missile program and is probably one of the reasons why Secretary of Defense Wilson as previously mentioned gets a little hotter.⁵⁹

Assuming that Russia has expanded her guided missile program to include rockets with atomic warheads, it does not take much reasoning power for the ordinary laymen to understand the disastrous effects of such an attack. Most people are well aware of the fact that Russia has the hydrogen peroxide engine and the schnorkel device on her largest submarines. Reports have already been made, though not confirmed, that she is equipping her submarines with ramps from which she could launch guided missiles. From the evidence above conclusions can be drawn that Russia is developing an aggressive undersea force for the purpose of carrying the war of the future to the very shores of her enemies.⁶⁰

A fleet of submarines fully equipped with rockets and the ramps for launching them can, without fear of being detected too easily, travel submerged for a considerable distance and can surface with effective range off both the coasts of Europe or North America and blast key ports and industrial centers. The geographical positions of her adversaries lend themselves to such an attack. England is vulnerable, no place on the island being farther than eighty miles from the coast.

Antwerp, Brussels, Rotterdam, The Hague, Amsterdam, Paris and all the French coastal cities would be open to attack. In the United States, Pearl Harbor could be recreated in such centers on the east coast as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Washington, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans and Houston. On the west coast San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle and other cities could be devastated.⁶¹

If this is what the future has in store for us what are we doing to prevent it? The United States Navy since 1946 has been alerted to such possibilities. For this reason it has been conducting intensive research with a startling array of seaborne and underwater gadgets for detecting elusive U-Boats. It has also been experimenting with weapons that will blow them up once they have been detected. The new weapons revealed for the first time before

Congress in the spring of 1952 are:

1) *An anti-submarine airplane* — This plane, a propeller-driven aircraft, filled with highly developed electronic devices, is designed to cover a large area of ocean and locate an enemy submarine somewhere under the water with only its schnorkel showing.⁶²

2) *A helicopter* — equipped with an underwater listening device that can be lowered on a long cable and dipped in the ocean at regular intervals for detecting the presence of enemy submarines. This device is expected to be more efficient than sonar devices aboard naval vessels because it will be free from engine noises, fish, rocks or the interference caused from other ships. It can be launched from a small carrier, cruiser or a ship of medium size.⁶³

3) *A new anti-submarine blimp* — built for tracking down and knocking out submarines, filled with a specially designed sound gear. This will be used effectively near enemy submarine pens or as a defensive force to protect U.S. ports.

4) *A magnetic locating device* — which will send magnetic impulses to find a hidden submarine. It can be used in a low flying plane, or better still, in a helicopter or a blimp.

5) *Sonar Buoys* — which can be dropped from patrolling aircraft. These buoys will float on the surface. They contain a secret sonar listening device and will send out radio impulses which can be picked up by aircraft ten miles away. A group of these buoys dropped in a pattern should pick up any underwater craft for a considerable distance.⁶⁴

6) *Homing torpedoes* — an underwater guided missile that will seek out an enemy submarine being drawn to it by a sonar device that is attracted by the submarine's underwater noise. A hit is almost certain. These weapons are being designed to be launched by a submarine, ship or blimp.

The forthcoming atomic submarine although an offensive war time weapon may be used as a picket vessel to detect enemy vessels and aircraft.⁶⁵ Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson stated recently in an interview with correspondents of *U. S. News and World Report* that the atomic submarine has a job of its own to do. "There are other things that will help in the way of detection and what to do to oppose

the submarine menace."⁶⁶ Just how effective our protection is against such a submarine attack can only be borne out by the cruel but exacting test of war.

IF WAR SHOULD BE THE SOLUTION

The objective of the United States Navy in the war of the future according to Admiral W. M. Fechteler, Chief of Naval Operations in 1951, will be to control the sea in order to keep the war as far away as possible from the homeland. If this is to be the procedure it will be necessary for the United States Navy to take the offensive at the earliest possible moment.⁶⁷

According to the outlook of high ranking naval officers, European Russia seems to be most vulnerable from the sea. Aircraft carriers could strike a blow to Russian commercial, defensive and industrial areas from the Mediterranean, the North Sea, the Norwegian Sea and the Barents (providing of course Russia's submarine fleet could be prevented from attacking U.S. carriers.) If carrier task forces could venture into these waters naval planes could strike and demolish submarine, aircraft and guided-missile bases at every good location near its coast. In war the Navy's most important job would be to eliminate these nests of the enemy's air and submarine fleet.⁶⁸

Such an attack might be a two prong pincer's attack from one end of Russia to the other. Sevastopol, Odessa, Kronstadt, Leningrad, Murmansk and Archangel would all be under attack as all six cities are within range of fighter escorted carrier plane sweeps. First the rocket launching bases, the radar stations, the electronic eyes must be wiped out and then carrier planes could venture inland to destroy important defense centers. These centers would have to be knocked out in order to save England, and Germany from a rain of Soviet rocket bombs.⁶⁹

The Navy's big carriers, which conducted this operation in a practice maneuver in 1952, in actuality would be protected by a ring of battleships, cruisers, destroyers, antisubmarine blimps and planes filled to capacity with the new electronic torpedo. The sky above and the waters for miles around would be probed with electronic feelers. The ships would bristle with deadly artillery, some of it rocket, ready to throw up a curtain of deadly proximity

fused artillery fire against attack planes or missiles.⁷⁰

Up above would fly a protective umbrella of the carriers' own fighters ready to meet an attack. Meanwhile in the vast spaces of the ocean would rest a squadron of tankers and supply ships ready to resupply the striking fleet in a few hours time so that it can return and hit its objectives from another quarter. If necessary, carriers could stand off shore 600 miles and still send planes within Russia to bomb vital industrial centers, or if the occasion demanded they could go up into the Baltic within fifty miles of Russia's coast and bomb the Archangel and Leningrad areas.⁷¹

All of this is possible only if the U. S. Navy can seize the initial advantage, for if the advantage lay with Russia, Soviet battleships and surface craft could clear out the Swedish fleets from the Baltic, making that sea a Russian controlled lake. The fleet could support an attacking Red Army with fire power as division after division moved over Jutland. The Red Navy would also be used in amphibious warfare, landing troops at Norway. Once in the open after raiding and invading lower Norway, they could play havoc with our shipping or any naval craft we put up against them.⁷²

Norway's fjords would make ideal submarine bases. Meanwhile the White Sea could be used strategically as a weather station for its fleet, reporting, from east to west, data that would be needed before amphibious or aerial campaigns are launched.⁷³

If Russia could move with her navy independently, she could gain control of the whole North Atlantic area. Although the Allies might still control the Mediterranean there is a possibility that it could be sealed at Gibraltar by a blockade of Russian submarines. If this occurred, then nothing could stop Russia from moving into the Dardanelles.

No easy solutions have been offered by the U. S. Navy on how to smash Russia in or along the Manchurian and Korean coast. In the Far East, Russia seems to hold the advantage. Petropavlovsk lies astride the great circle routes to China and the Philippines. Vladivostok controls the sea of Japan. The Kuriles afford an excellent base of operations for attacks on allied convoys.⁷⁴

In 1951 military experts realized the Russian naval advantages and feared that at any time the Russians would throw their submarine strength into Korean waters. It was thought at that time that there was a considerable fleet of submarines operating around Korea. Perhaps the Russians feared spreading the war, nevertheless the advantages were there if they had taken them. Supply lines of the Seventh fleet could have been wrecked.⁷⁵ Japan and Formosa could have been blockaded by sea. The road to the Philippines would have been open to the Russians. That they did not press their advantages at that time was a gain for us.

THE SUMMING UP

Comparative strength of the three great navies of the world as shown in the chart below, taken from the latest edition of *Jane's Fighting Ships*, reveals Russia as a naval power to be reckoned with in the present as well as the future.⁷⁶ The greatest danger seems to be from Soviet submarines cutting American supply lines to Europe as well as keeping us from sources of vital raw material in other parts of the world. Danger to U. S. cities on or near either coast is less publicized but just as real with the new Russian fleet concentrating on the development of guided missiles. In Asia the naval advantages rest with Russia, making our situation there a precarious one.⁷⁷

If the choice is war for the future the advice of Admiral Fechteler might be well worth considering. The Admiral warned against thinking in terms of defensive war. "We must think in terms of offensive war. Defensive wars are not the way wars are won. You have to carry the war to the enemy and destroy his will to fight."⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Mitchell, *Loc. cit.*, pp. 417-418.

⁷⁵ "New Threat—Soviet Navy" *U. S. News and World Report*, April 11, 1952, p. 374.

⁷⁶ Rear Admiral H. G. Thursfield, Editor, *Brassey's Annual* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1952), p. 126.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁷⁸ "New Threat—Soviet Navy" *U. S. News and World Report*, April 11, 1952, p. 374.

⁷⁹ R.V.B. Blackman, Ed., *Jane's Fighting Ships* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. Ltd., 25 Gilbert Street, 1951-52).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ "New Threat—Soviet Navy" *U. S. News and World Report*, April 11, 1952, p. 374.

- ⁴² R.V.B. Blackman, Editor, *Jane's Fighting Ships* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1952-53).
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ Fletcher Pratt, "Who Has the Best Submarines?" *Harper's Magazine* February 1949.
- ⁴⁵ Frank Uhlig, Jr., "The Threat of the Soviet Navy" *Foreign Affairs*, April 17, 1952.
- ⁴⁶ "Defense cuts will not Upset Business," Exclusive Interview with Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, *U. S. News and World Report*, November 13, 1953.
- ⁴⁷ *New York Herald Tribune*, October 22, 1953.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ R.V.B. Blackman, Editor, *Jane's Fighting Ships* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, Yearly), 1951-52, See Appendix.
- ⁵⁰ *Soviet Russia Today* (New York: 114 East 32nd Street) April, 1945.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ R.V.B. Blackman, Editor, *Jane's Fighting Ships* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1951-52).
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ *Soviet Russia Today* (New York: 114 East 32nd Street) April, 1945.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
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- ⁵⁸ Ivor Spector, *Soviet Strength and Strategy in Asia* (Seattle Publishing Company, 1950).
- ⁵⁹ Martin E. Holbrook, "The Rocket Firing Submarine" *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, January 1951.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
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- ⁶² "Antisub War: Weapons that 'See' and 'Hear'" *U. S. Naval News and World Report*, April 11, 1952.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ Homer H. Wallin, Rear Admiral James C. Derieux, "America's New Dreadful Weapon" *Colliers Magazine* December 20, 1952.
- ⁶⁶ "Defense Cuts Will Not Upset Business." Exclusive Interview with Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson *U. S. News and World Report*, November 13, 1953.
- ⁶⁷ "We Can't be Invaded," Interview with Admiral W. M. Fechteler, Chief of Naval Operations, *U. S. News and World Report*, October 5, 1951.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² Frank Uhlig, Jr., "The Threat of the Soviet Navy" *Foreign Affairs*, April 7, 1952.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁵ *U. S. News and World Report*, September 7, 1951.
- ⁷⁶
- | | United States | Britain | Russia |
|-------------------|---------------|---------|---------------|
| Carriers | 103 | 11 | 0 |
| Battleships | 15 | 5 | 3 (perhaps 5) |
| Cruisers | 75 | 26 | 20 |
| Destroyers | 352 | 107 | 83 |
| Destroyer Escorts | 250 | 161 | 38 |
| Submarines | 201 | 53 | 370 |
- ⁷⁷ "New Threat—Soviet Navy" *U. S. News and World Report*, April 11, 1952.
- ⁷⁸ "We Can't be Invaded" Exclusive interview with Admiral W. M. Fechteler, Chief of Naval Operations, *U. S. News and World Report*, October 5, 1951.

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Dobbins Vocational-Technical School and The Junto Adult School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

DISCIPLINE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CITIZENSHIP

The School District of Philadelphia recently issued three bulletins to its teaching and administrative staff. The first, Administrative Bulletin No. 22, is entitled "Discipline for Constructive Citizenship"; the other two, No. 22A and No. 22B, are supplements for classroom teachers and for school principals respectively. The bulletins are an outgrowth of "three years research, study, and discussion in which the entire staff participated." Dr. Louis P. Hoyer, who retired last June as Superintendent of Schools, initiated the study because of his concern with the quality of behavior of some of our young people. He felt that there was a great need for something to be done "to bring about a higher regard for truth, honesty and respect for personal property rights of other people." The whole problem was first discussed with various civic groups.

As has been the practice in the Philadelphia School system for many years now, whenever research studies are undertaken involving the curriculum, methods of teaching and related matters, a committee of representative members of the instructional, supervisory, and administrative staff was appointed to explore and plan the study (1952). Mr. Milton O. Pearce, District Superintendent at the time, and now Associate Superintendent of schools, assumed the chairmanship of the committee. Mr. Pearce, incidentally, received the 1955 Human Relations Award, presented by the B'nai Brith, "in recognition of his leadership and efforts to develop understanding among people of all races, religions, and national origins."

The principal work of the committee consisted of:

- (1) Conducting a survey among the various schools to determine the types of unde-

sirable behavior and examining their causes.

- (2) Interviewing many leaders of social service, business, and religious groups regarding their views on this problem.
- (3) Assuming leadership of the October 1953 curriculum conference (a yearly project) which was devoted to a consideration of "the importance of more effective citizenship instructions" in Philadelphia schools and a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the past and existing programs of character and citizenship instruction.
- (4) Analyzing the reports submitted by teacher representatives to the conference.

The concepts developed and discussed in the Bulletin on "Discipline for Constructive Citizenship" are presented in a way that should give teachers a good insight into the nature and purpose of discipline and its relationship to constructive citizens. The term *discipline*, as we know, has the same stem as disciple. A disciple is one who adopts the standards and values of another person (of someone who is admired and respected). Discipline, therefore, connotes voluntary behavior. It implies a kind of internal integration which makes possible self control and the pursuance of socially acceptable goals.

This concept of discipline is developed in the Bulletin in terms of the whole program of instruction and methods and techniques of teaching. The term discipline actually has several meanings. As discussed in the Bulletin, . . .

" . . . *discipline* is used to denote the whole program of instruction, guidance, and direction through which the individual student is helped to establish his pattern of citizenship. It must be thought of as embracing the whole range of materials, techniques and procedures used, on the one hand, to encourage acceptable responses, and on the other, to discourage unacceptable ones. *Discipline* in this sense is recognized as essential at all stages of the student's development, and in all phases of his education, the school's objective being to see the program of supporting and directing devices diminish in necessity and importance as the student

matures and accepts increasingly greater responsibility for his own conduct.

"In order that we may avoid the confusion in thinking which arises from three generally accepted uses of the word *discipline*, it becomes necessary for us to establish equivalents for these other common uses.

"In one sense, *discipline* is used to mean the *degree* of *order* established in a group. In this sense we customarily speak of the excellent 'discipline' of one teacher or the less acceptable 'discipline' of another. To convey this meaning, we shall use the term 'effectiveness of discipline,' or simply 'control.' In passing, it is pointed out that the degree of control in a classroom is not necessarily an index to the effectiveness of the citizenship teaching in that room, since what appears to be perfect control *may* result from following completely negative procedures.

"In a second sense, the word *discipline*, is used to denote the various *techniques* and *devices* by which a teacher maintains an orderly situation. In this sense one teacher may advise another to visit a particular room to 'see how Miss X disciplines her students.' Here the word is used in the sense of 'control techniques,' and that term will be used instead.

"In a third sense, the word *discipline* is used to mean *punishment*. The teacher writes to the principal, 'I am sending this student to you for discipline.' In this bulletin the equivalent term will be 'remedial measures,' which will be used to designate the successive steps which may be taken to arrest a student's tendency toward misconduct. The extreme step in such a series is the resort to punishment.

"It will appear from the foregoing that the method by which a teacher seeks to develop good citizenship responses is quite as important as the degree of success he attains. As in the presentation of subject matter materials, the teacher will learn not to expect perfection in the product. There is, however, genuine professional satisfaction in the knowledge that in training for citizenship the emphasis upon the *direction* in which a student moves is as important to his development as is either the distance

which he moves, or the speed with which he moves in that direction."

Every person is subject to two authorities with respect to his overt behavior: an external authority, represented by society; an internal authority, represented by his conscience. The average individual adheres to the many mores, customs and laws of his society partly because he knows that in the long run he will be happier by conforming than by being different or by rebelling. It is only when an impulse, which is in conflict with established mores or laws, is stronger than the desire or need for approval, or when it is stronger than fear of shame, ostracism, physical punishment, or loss of freedom, that the external authority may be ignored or flouted.

The strength of the inner authority, one's conscience, is largely a product of the individual's interaction with his environment. Through the processes of identification the individual acquires in varying degrees the concepts of right and wrong, good and bad, moral and immoral, beautiful and ugly, just and unjust, righteous and unrighteous. A person with a mature conscience conforms to the standards of his society less because of fear of punishment and more because doing the right thing is part of his acquired nature. Here, also, however, if an inner urge to act in a way that is contrary to established mores or laws arises, the final outcome will be determined by the relative strengths of the anti-social impulse and of the internal authority, as well as fear of punishment.

The other significant areas dealt with in the Bulletin relating to discipline for constructive citizenship, cover such points as: "The Kind of Citizens We Seek to Develop" and "Development of A School Program For Effective Citizenship."

Some of the elements discussed include an analysis of what each student should understand and do, what each teacher should understand and do, and what each principal should understand and do. Below are some excerpts:

"Each student should understand that every member of the school staff is genuinely interested in, and concerned with, his welfare

...

"That in a democratic organization which

encourages his active co-operation there must be officials who represent and act for the community, and the position and authority of the principal and of the teachers must be recognized and accepted because they are such officials

"That, even though he may not agree with the majority, he must obey the regulations made by democratically constituted groups such as his class, his student government, The Board of Public Education, and all governing bodies — local, state and national ..."

"Each teacher should understand that the greatest single element in the control and direction of his class and throughout the school is *his own personal example*

"That he must accept responsibility for dealing with offenses against accepted standards of good order when they come to his attention anywhere in the school or school community

"That so far as control of a class or of its individual members has constructive value, it must be looked upon as a natural outgrowth of good planning, good management and good teaching ...

"That there are certain normal tendencies in behavior as a student passes through the successive levels of maturity, of which the teacher must take full account in his relations with students

"That students, in general, have an innate sense of fairness which teachers must respect

"That students have a high regard for good humor and friendliness in their teachers — traits upon which the teacher can build good personal relations with them ...

"That concerning punishment the following guides should be observed:

"Specifically, these punishments are approved as a result of successful practices:

Expressions of disapproval first in private and later, if necessary, in the presence of group

Temporary isolation under supervision

Detention for specific purpose which is clearly stated and achieved during the detention.

Withdrawal of specified privileges for a

stated time, so long as the withdrawal does not result in the injury of the student

Note: Referral to the principal, or other disciplinary officer within the school, designated by him, is in order after the teacher has exhausted all his own possibilities for bringing about an adjustment."

"Similarly, these punishments are disapproved:

Sarcastic remarks

Personal affront and indignity

School tasks imposed for punitive purposes

Frequent detention without specific purpose

Forced apologies

Exclusion from the room without supervision

Sending students to a lower grade"

"The principal should understand that the success of the program of effective citizenship training depends, first of all, upon his enthusiastic and informed leadership . . .

"That he is in a strategic position to interpret the program to the community and to secure community support for the program in his school

"That the effectiveness of his leadership in this program depends upon good personal relations with staff, students, and parents

"That good staff morale essential to this program can best be developed by knowing each staff member as an individual, and by giving each the maximum opportunity to contribute

"That students, too, are individuals who co-operate best with those who plan and work with them and who try to know them as individuals."

The goals anticipated in the three Bulletins are based on sound psychological principles of human behavior and practical educational philosophy.

HUMAN BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL LIVING A Course Outline in Lesson Form for High School Students LESSON 4

TO GAIN AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE PSYCHO-PHYSIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR

Beginning the Lesson

A. Let one (or more students) volunteer to perform the following:

1. Stand before the class with one arm raised horizontally until the student feels forced to lower the arm.
2. Have student describe how he felt during the experiment.

B. Blindfold several students

1. Have them smell or feel certain objects or listen to some noises and voices.
2. Ask students to identify objects or noises.

C. Follow with class discussion, in terms of the knowledge students already possess, the nature of people's reaction to stimuli.

Words and Concepts We Need to Know And Understand

Automatic (involuntary) responses: Responses to stimuli that take place without conscious direction by the individual. Examples: blinking of the eye; sneezing; jumping at a loud noise.

Cerebellum: That part of the brain, located in the back of the skull, which is the control center for our sense of balance or equilibrium.

Cerebrum: The largest part of the brain, consisting of two parts or hemispheres. It is the control center of all sensation, voluntary motor movement, intelligence, intellectual functions, and conscience.

Conditioned response: A response that becomes associated with or attached to a stimulus which originally did not arouse it.

Conscience: That part of the human mind or personality which controls the person's sense of right and wrong.

Encephalograph: A machine that records the patterns of brain waves used in diagnosing certain kinds of mental illness.

Impulses: Nervous energy transmitted by nerve cells.

Medulla oblongata: The enlarged upper portion of the spinal cord or the base of the brain. It controls such functions as breathing, sneezing, vomiting, coughing, and blinking.

Neurons: Nerve cells.

Psycho-physiological: Refers to the various body processes whose proper or improper functioning has a psychological effect on the

personality. Example: Poor eye sight, bad hearing, impediment in speech may have marked effects on personality.

Reflex: An automatic response.

Sense receptors: The various sense organs equipped with nerve endings to receive impulses from stimuli. Example: eyes, ears, nose, tongue, skin, tendons in muscles.

Spinal cord: Center for bodily reflex action and pathway for impulses from body to brain and brain to body.

Stimulus: Anything which can excite the nerve endings of a sense receptor. Example: light, sound, odors, pressure, ideas (words).

THINGS TO DO

A. Answer the following questions

1. Why are the several sense organs or sense receptors referred to as the windows to the outside world?
2. What part does the brain serve with respect to the sensations received by the sense receptors?
3. What are the several functions of the several subdivisions of the nervous system?
4. What is the name given to the outer portion of the cerebrum.
5. What are the several kinds of nerve cells and their functions?
6. Of what importance are reflexes and automatic responses?
7. How might a person be affected if his cerebellum were injured?

B. Projects and Reports

1. Read H. G. Wells *The Country of The*

Blind. Discuss what parts of the story are reasonable and what parts seem unreasonable deductions.

2. Draw a diagram of a neuron. Name each part.
3. Write a sentence or a short paragraph of some of the words in the Vocabulary.
4. Write an account of how an individual's personality may be influenced by one or more of the following
 - a. poor vision
 - b. poor hearing
 - c. a weak heart
 - d. lack of intelligence
5. Committee or individual reports
 - a. Pavlov's experiment with the conditioned reflex.
 - b. Recent research studies in brain surgery (check for articles listed in Reader's Guide to periodic literature).

C. What To Read

Engle, T. L., *Psychology*. Chapter 7. Biological Foundations of Behavior.

Garrett, Henry E. *Great Experiments in Psychology*. Ch. VI, The Role of The Brain in Learning.

Grabbe, Paul, *We Call It Human Nature*

Gray, Paul, *Psychology in Human Affairs*. Ch. VII, Psychological Effects of Nutrition, Drugs, Alcohol and Tobacco.

Sorenson, Herbert, and Malm, Marguerite. *Psychology for Living*, Ch. 3, How Your Nerves and Glands Operate To Help You.

Visual and Other Aids

Washington Junior High School, Mount Vernon, New York

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

WRITE TO . . .

Just off the press and ready for distribution by Bailey Films, Inc. 6509 DeLongpre Ave., Hollywood 28, Cal., is the 1955 supplement to Bailey's *Complete Sale and Rental Catalog*.

Folkways Record & Service Corp., 117 W. 46 St., New York 36, N.Y., for a copy of the 1955 record card catalog including a large col-

lection of authentic folk music on long playing records.

Eye Gate House, 2716—41 Ave., Long Island City, N.Y. for the 1955-56 Filmstrip Catalog.

International Film Bureau, 57 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill. for a descriptive list entitled "16mm. Films in Health, Education, and Welfare."

FILMS

The Louisiana Purchase: Key to a Continent.

Sound. Black and White. 16 min. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films. Wilmette, Ill.

The film brings to life an important incident in U. S. history for junior and senior high school students. It recreates the issues of those times and the heated passions which motivated the men who made history. The film describes the importance of the Mississippi River as the major route for western settlers. The refusal of the Spanish to let American flatboats land at New Orleans forces Thomas Jefferson to send a messenger to France for the purchase of the territory. The film shows the completion of the sale between the U.S. and France. The good news is hailed here, but Jefferson is concerned as to whether Congress has the constitutional right to acquire territory. The film ends with the ceremony in which the great transaction is completed. The photography is good, the sound very clear, and historical accuracy quite definite. Many questions can be utilized for review, by using the guide which EBF furnishes.

D. Johansson, *Guest Reviewer*
Berkeley, California

Workshop for Peace. 29 min. Sound. Black and white. Sale, rental. Films and Visual Information Division, United Nations, N.Y.

Describes the U.N. Headquarters building in N.Y.C. and the operations of the various departments.

Defense of the Peace. 12 min. Sound. Black and white. Sale, rental. United Nations, N.Y.

Live action and animation are used to describe the over-all organization and functions of the various branches of the U.N.

Grand Design. 9 min. Sound. Black and white. Sale, rental. United Nations.

Reviews the problems which have been faced by the U.N. and its specialized agencies during the years.

Indians' Ceremonials. 18 min. Sound. Color. Free-loan. Film Bureau, Santa Fe Railway, 80 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

Scenes at Gallup, New Mexico, during the annual tribal ceremonies.

Navajo Country. 10 min. Sound. Color. Sale, rent. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, Ill.

Portrays daily life, shows scenes of livestock grazing, weaving, silver work, etc.

Pueblo Boy. 25 min. Sound. Color. Free-loan. Ford Motor Co. Film Library, 3000 Schafer Rd., Dearborn, Mich.

Story of a young Indian learning the ways, habits, traditions, and cultures of his people.

Physical Regions of Canada. 23 min. Sound. Black and white. Sale. Nat'l Film Board of Canada, 1270 Ave. of Americas, New York 20, N.Y.

Depicts geographical background of country. *Gold Coast People.* 11 min. Sound. Color. Sale, rent. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Place, New York, N.Y.

Scenes of Accra, with its shops, newspapers, hospitals, etc. Life in the cities is compared to that of villages. Modern farming and mining methods also are shown.

Fight for Life. 17 min. Sound. Black and white. Sale, rent. British Information Services.

Geography of a country; how a government scheme is teaching the natives the rudiments of modern farming.

FILMSTRIPS

Gold Coast of Africa: The Land and its People. 45 fr. Color. Sale. Society for Visual Education, Inc., 1345 N. Diversey Pkwy, Chicago 14, Ill.

Shown are customs and life of people.

French Canadians—Quebec (Earth and Its People Series) 47 fr. Sale. United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., New York, N.Y.

Interesting views of life of French in Quebec.

Exploring Canada: Canada from Coast to Coast. 45 fr. Sale.

Fishermen and Farmers of Canada. 40 fr. Sale.

Home Life in Canada. 38 fr. Sale.

Industrial Canada. 52 fr. Sale. Color. All from Audio-Visual Division, 353 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N.Y.

Filmstrips depict life among Canadians.

Indian Life. 44 fr. Sale. Informative Classroom Pictures Publ. Co., 31 Ottawa Ave., N.W. Grand Rapids, Mich.

Drawings show the life of various types of North American Indians: Seminoles, Iroquois, Plains.

Indians of the Southwest. 47 fr. with script. American Council on Education, 1795 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Plains Indians, their life and customs are shown.

Starting with the Globe. 72 fr. color, with captions and manual for use. Free-loan. Dennoyer-Geppert Co., 5235 N. Ravenswood Ave., Chicago 40, Ill.

Filmstrip deals with vital elementary and secondary concepts which are often difficult to understand, in teaching about the globe.

Foundations of Democracy in the U.S. 7 filmstrips in series, Color. Sale. Jam Handy Organization, 2821 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich.

Re-enacts early U.S. history.

1. The Colonists Are Freedom Loving

2. Colonial Freedoms Are Threatened

3. Fighting Begins in the North

4. Independence Is Declared

5. War in the Middle Colonies and the Northwest

6. War on the Sea and in the South

7. Writing the Constitution

Britain: Atlantic Neighbor. 56 fr. Black and white. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*, Times Sq., New York 36, N.Y.

This filmstrip examines the grave problems currently confronting the nation—inflation, trade, defense, colonial aspirations and unrest, and its relations with the U.S. and Russia.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

International Migrations: The Immigrant in the Modern World. By Donald R. Taft and Richard Robbins. New York: The Ronald Press Company, c. 1955. Pp. viii, 670. \$7.00.

The old dimensions of the immigration problem in the United States, with emphasis on immigrant adjustment and assimilation, have changed in the last thirty years. This book accordingly sets human migration on the world stage, and is therefore a broader book than Professor Taft's *Human Migration* (1936). The major emphasis is on world migration since World War I.

Factual and theoretical background regarding population growth, mobility, quality, economic and nationalistic motivations, and assimilation comprises Part I. Part II details the inter-war years, especially the fundamental changes effected in migration by European totalitarianism, the stirrings in Asia, the building of Israel, and the development of South Africa, Australia, and South America. Part III reviews United States immigration history, including our immigration policies and laws down through the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and the social problems and effects of immigration. Special reference is made to the Germans, Scandinavians, Catholic Irish, French Canadians, Italians, and Jews. Chapters

on the Orientals and on the newer Mexican and Puerto Rican immigrants are added. Part IV theorizes about migration and war and about migration policies.

This is a most valuable book, bringing an important problem up to date in a comprehensive and scholarly manner.

WAYNE C. NEELY

Hood College
Frederick, Maryland

The Web of Victory; Grant at Vicksburg. By Earl Schenck Miers. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. Pp. 332. \$5.00.

With the increasing emphasis upon social and economic history, some quarter of a century ago, there came a corresponding de-emphasis of military history. It reached a point, in the 'thirties, where in some universities it was hardly considered decent to mention military history. One can accept the fact that a former emphasis upon military and political history, to the exclusion of all other aspects of the past, was unbalanced and unwise, but it is also unwise to go to the other extreme and eliminate the former emphasis altogether. Public school teachers have always known that many adolescents are thrilled by military history, and that students who can be reached in no other way

will "react" to a good yarn about battles and campaigns.

Teachers and literate laymen are well aware of the fact that Gettysburg and Vicksburg were the turning points of the Civil War. Yet while we have an abundant literature on the former battle, we know surprisingly little about the latter. Teachers often link it to Gettysburg, speak of the importance of the opening of the Mississippi River and the splitting of the Confederacy, perhaps mention the name of Grant, and then move on to something else.

M. Miers, who has written and edited several brilliant books on the Civil War period, here gives us a fascinating and highly readable account of the campaign that resulted in the surrender of Pemberton's army and the fall of the last strongly fortified Confederate post on the Mississippi River. This was perhaps Grant's most spectacular victory, and certainly it played a major role in getting for Grant the command of all Union forces. Some military strategists have considered that this campaign, more than any other of the Civil War, witnessed actions and decisions without precedent in the history of warfare.

Adolescents, many of them, will thrill to the color and drama packed into the pages of this book. Teachers of American history will find it thrilling reading, and they will also learn a great deal about this campaign and many of the key personnel of the War, on both sides. This book should be widely read by teachers; its presence in high school libraries will bring rewards in increased interest and realism.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State Teachers College
Cortland, New York

Contemporary Social Issues. Raymond L. Lee, James A. Burkhart and Van B. Shaw, Editors. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Co., 1955. Pp. xv, 864. \$3.95.

A book of this type is more than difficult to review. It is a collection of selected readings; and it would be unfair to assert that this or that particular selection should have been replaced by another selection. It would be equally unfair to point out that the topics selected here stress too much one area of social problems and neglect other areas; after all, our modern life has so many interrelated social problems that

not even an encyclopedia can adequately survey them.

But among the several good books of this type on the market today, this collection stands out. Its basic aim is to stimulate class discussion and debate, "to provoke controversy, and to sharpen the classroom atmosphere," through the use of (1) the problems approach and (2) readings that reflect the dynamics of the problem and relate theoretical material to the contemporary social scene. The selected topics are focused around: Society and Social Change; Democracy and the Ideologies; the Politics and Administration of American Government; Personal Maladjustment and Crime; the Family in a Changing Society; Racial and Cultural Minorities; Rival Economic Ideologies; Evolution of American Capitalism and the United States in World Affairs.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport, Connecticut

History and the Social Web. By August C. Krey. Minneapolis, Minnesota, The University of Minnesota Press, 1955. Pp. 269. \$4.00.

History and the Social Web was written with the purpose of answering a popular demand for the essays of this great writer and history teacher. Chapter Seven, "A City That Art Built," was published earlier and included in this book because of its popular demand. Part One, *The Long Road Back*, refers to the Roman Empire and takes the reader through *The Rebirth of the Medical Profession* and *A City that Art Built* to *Seeing the Renaissance Whole*. Part Two, *The Social Web: World-Wide and Time-Deep*, has a critical appraisal of William of Tyre in Chapter Nine, *The Social Web*, and concludes with thought-stimulating ideas in Chapter Twelve, *History in an Age of Technology*.

August C. Krey, who is a professor of history at the University of Minnesota, is the author of numerous other books. He served as chairman of the American Historical Association's Commission on the Investigation of the Social Studies in the Schools and as editor of the Commission's sixteen-volume published report.

The author has a pleasant blending of

chronological and topical material. The arrangement of ideas and subject matter is in good taste. There are no illustrative materials such as pictures or engravings which could have been employed especially in Chapter Seven, *A City that Art Built*.

History and the Social Web has an adequate index but does not have a list of suggested readings, an item some readers would value. The writer is expressive in an exceptionally easy style, a feature appreciated by all readers.

This volume belongs on the shelf of the serious student of history. Sociological and educational aspects broaden its use in other fields. As a supplement to a course outline this book would have great value. My only question is about possible reader-interpretation of Chapter Eleven, *Monte Cassino, Mattan, and Minnesota*, where some parts are apt to be misunderstood in some communities. This work is a must for the serious student of world affairs.

HARRY GRANSBACK

Lincoln High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

- Economic History of the United States*. By Howard R. Smith. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955. pp. xxxii, 763. \$6.00.
- Current Introductory Economics*. By Paul F. Gemmill. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. pp. xxxiii, 711. \$5.50.
- Getting Adjusted to Life*. By Howard E. Brown. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1955. pp. xxx, 459. \$4.00.
- Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution*. By Premier Gamal Abdul Nasser. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955. pp. iii, 119. \$2.00.
- Your Family Today and Tomorrow*. By Elizabeth S. Force. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955. pp. xxiv, 397. \$3.00.
- Our Yankee Heritage*. By Carleton Beals. New York: David McKay Company, Incorporated, 1955. pp. xviii, 311. \$4.00.
- The Heritage of the Past*. By Stewart C. Easton. New York: Rinehart and Company, Incorporated, 1955. pp. xxii, 795. \$5.00.

- Soviet Civilization*. By Corliss Lamont. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. pp. x, 447. \$5.00.
- Hamtramck Then and Now: A Sociological Study of a Polish American Community*. By Arthur Evans Wood. New York: Bookman Associates, 1955. pp. ix, 253. \$4.00.
- Church and State: The Struggle for Separation in New Hampshire, 1630-1900*. By Charles B. Kinney, Jr. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955. pp. v, 198. \$4.00.
- American Philosophy*. Edited by Ralph B. Winn. New York: Philosophical Library, Incorporated, 1955. pp. 310. \$6.00.
- History of the Cold War*. By Kenneth Ingram. New York: Philosophical Library, Incorporated, 1955. pp. xiv, 238. \$5.00.
- Organizing the Teaching Profession*. By the Commission on Educational Reconstruction, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. pp. ix, 320. \$4.50.
- Academic Freedom in Our Time*. By Robert M. MacIver. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. pp. xvi, 329. \$4.00.
- Present Day Psychology*. Edited by A. A. Roback. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. pp. xl, 994. \$12.00.
- Science and Social Action*. By W. J. H. Skrott. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. pp. viii, 163. \$3.50.
- Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow*. Edited by Ernst W. Swanson and John A. Griffin. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: 1955. pp. ix, 137. \$5.00.
- The Government and Administration of North Carolina*. Edited by W. Brooks Graves. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1955. pp. xxxii, 432. \$4.95.
- Cities in the Wilderness, 1625-1742*. By Carl Bridenbaugh. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Incorporated, 1955. pp. 500. \$6.95.
- Cities in Revolt, 1743-1776*. By Carl Bridenbaugh. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Incorporated, 1955. pp. 480. \$7.50.
- The King's Peace, 1637-1641*. By C. V. Wedgewood. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955. pp. 510. \$5.50.
- The Fifteen Weeks*. By Joseph M. Jones. New York: The Viking Press, 1955. pp. 288. \$3.75.

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